COBBETT'S WEEKLY POLITICAL REGISTER.

VOL. XII. No. 12.] LONDON, SATURDAY, SEPTEMBER 19, 1807. [PRICE 10D.

"There hath been, within the compass of few years, much talk, and, God knows, too many ill-"effects too, of Factions in this kingdom; and we have lived, in our days, to see the two great "Parties, of late known by the name of Whig and Tory, directly change their ground; and those, "who were formerly the Anti-Courtiers, become as pliant and obsequious, as ever they were who "had been the most found fault with on that score. But, we are humbly of opinion, that, at this "time of day, neither of those Parties have the game in their hands, as they have formerly fancied "to themselves. But they who shall be so honest, and so wise, constantly to prefer the true "Interest of England to that of any other country or people, preserve the Religion and the Laws, "promote and protect the Trade of the Nation, thriftily and providently administer the public Trea-"sure, AND STUDY TO MAINTAIN THE SOVEREIGNTY OF THE SEAS, SO NATURALLY, SO AN-"CIENTLY, AND SO JUSTLY THE TRUE DEFENCE OF THIS KINGDOM; this Body, whomsoever "it shall be composed of, shall have the Weight of England on its side; and if there can be any "of another frame, they must, in the end, prove so many miserable ROTTEN REEDS."——Preface to Lord Clarendon's History, p. ix.

SUMMARY OF POLITICS.

DOMINION OF THE SEAS.——The motto, which I have chosen for the present sheet, and which, with the exception of one sentence, then inapplicable to my subject, I took upon a former occasion, would seem to have been written for a moment exactly like the present. The nation has recently seen Whigs abandoning their principles and becoming even worse than the worst of those, whom they had, for so many years, been combating; it has become sick of both parties; all confidence in each, as a party, has been destroyed by the parties themselves; and, every where, the people are anxious to see arise another set of men, acting upon the principles described by the writer of the Preface to Lord Clarendon's History. But, of these principles, that of maintaining the Dominion of the Seas is, at this moment, of the most importance to us; because, it is now evident to every man of common information, that, unless we maintain that dominion, we must, at no distant day, become the slaves of France. No answer has, any where, been given to what I have advanced upon the subject of this our maritime dominion. Those who appear to care not a straw for their own country more than for any other, or, indeed, who seem to love other countries much better than their own, have bestowed, in a style truly worthy of advocates of America, some pretty decent abuse upon me; but, from long experience, I know that that abuse will do no injury, except to my opponents and their cause. I know, that, upon this subject, I have *the people* with me; and I fear not the abuse of all the hirelings in the metropolis, from whatever hand their hire may come.——The reader will find two letters, in the subsequent pages of this Number, one applauding me for what I have said upon the subject of maritime dominion, the other of a different tendency, and both containing a copy of the general order, given to our sea commanders, to search neutral ships, without distinction, for British seamen.——The writer of the last mentioned letter contends, that the order does not extend to *national* ships; but, I should be glad to hear him give better reasons for his opinion than the one which he has advanced, namely, that the neutral commander is to be required to pay the British seamen, so found, their wages, before they leave his ship; just as if sailors were not paid wages in ships of war, or "na-"tional ships," as well as in merchant ships! The order contains no exception whatever. It fully authorizes, and, indeed, commands, our naval commanders, to search neutral ships of all descriptions, when they suspect them to have British seamen on board; and, though the Morning Chronicle so stoutly, and so eagerly, maintained, that Admiral Berkeley had no authority whatever to give the orders which he gave, it will be found that that officer, if it be attempted to censure him, will put his censors to shame, and will have the voice of all the sound part of the country with him. And here, let me observe, that Admiral Berkeley, who was on the side of the late ministry in parliament, was sent out to the American station by them, and, therefore, one would have supposed them likely not to have been the *first* to condemn his conduct. But, as I have before observed, the whole of the Whig party, or, the far greater part of them, at least, appear, in all disputes between this country and any other, to have a

strong bias towards that other. They liked Admiral Berkeley very well; but they liked America much better. Mr. Whitbread, it will be remembered, lost not a moment in agitating the subject in the House of Commons. The ministers having said, that they had *no information* upon the subject, he caught hold of the declaration, and expressed his happiness to hear, that the act, as represented, had received *no authority* from the king's ministers. How *eager* he was! It might have been worth the while of a member of parliament to inquire a little into the orders given to our naval commanders, before he thus, by clear implication, accused an admiral of having done an unwarrantable act.——Lord Stanhope, too, in the House of Peers, actually proposed to pass a resolution, declaring that England had no maritime rights which were not common to all nations. The peers put this aside by a vote for the order of the day, upon the ground of its being improper to pass mere abstract propositions; but, in my opinion, they should have met the question, and given a direct negative to the proposition. This might have saved them some trouble, too; for they must negative this proposition, or some one similar to it, in direct terms, if it be again brought forward.——The next session of parliament will, upon this account, be a very interesting one, for then these matters must be discussed. Then we shall see, who are for maintaining the sovereignty of the seas, and who are not; and, I have not the least hesitation in predicting, that the nation, I mean the people in general, of all ranks and degrees, will be on the side of those who are for maintaining that sovereignty. I fear, that the ministers, for the sake of Hanover, will be ready to give it up; but, my fears may, possibly, be groundless; and, if I should have to applaud the maintaining of our ancient maritime dominion, and the restoration of that valuable honour, the honour of the flag, my applause will not be the less unqualified, or the less readily and heartily bestowed, because it will be bestowed upon Mr. Canning and Mr. Perceval and others, whose principles and conduct, I have, in other cases, reprobated. I am for the men, be they who they may, who will save the country, from the assaults of the enemy and from public robbers; but, first of all, from the assaults of the enemy, because, without that, all our efforts for effecting internal reformation are useless; and, as I am thoroughly convinced, as I think it almost self-evident, that this country must become an appendage of France, unless we assert our right of sea-dominion, and make peace upon that principle, whenever we do make peace; as this is my thorough conviction, I am for the men who are for maintaining that dominion.——Our power upon the waves enables us to dictate the terms, upon which the ships of all nations shall navigate. We may hold the key to the Baltic, the key to the Mediterranean, the key to India and to China. We have it in our power to make all countries which are under the dominion of France purchase their foreign commodities at a price ten times as great as that which they now pay. We have it in our power to cut off all communication between the several nations by sea. The Americans, who have succeeded the Dutch in milking the cow while others are fighting for her horns, we shall, I hope, compel to render to us a good portion of each meal of milk. Not a sail should be hoisted, except by stealth, without paying us tribute. "This," some persons will tell us, "would "be to proclaim eternal war." But, my opinion is, that it is the *only possible way* of obtaining any thing worthy of the name of peace. The consequence of such a system would be, that the nations of Europe, and especially the maritime nations, would be driven to a state of desperation that must produce internal troubles, in the course of a very few years; for, as to their hatred of us, and their hostility against us, we have, upon that score, nothing to apprehend, seeing that the whole of the power and resources which those states possess, are now actually employed against us. The consequence of those internal troubles would be the shaking of the power of France; for, it is impossible to keep the whole of a people in subjection, for any length of time, if they are reduced to a situation wherein they have nothing to lose; and, at the same time, the invasion of these islands by France will become a subject of ridicule instead of a subject of terror.——If we succeed, as we certainly shall, in capturing the Danish capital and fleet, what a fine figure Russia will make in the world! And, as to Prussia, her maritime towns may as well be without ports as with them.——It is possible, that Mr. Spankie, the editor of the Morning Chronicle, may have formed in his own mind a system whereby we might obtain a safe peace without having recourse to this extraordinary exercise of our power; but, for my own part, after having *thought* as much about the matter as any man can, I am convinced that nothing short of this will give us even a chance of a safe peace. Does

Mr. Spankie think, that the humble tone, the tone of "resignation," which he has taken; does he think, that this, or any thing like it, is likely to obtain us a mitigation of the evils of being conquered? Does he really think, that it would defer the period of our ruin for the space of five years? For the space of five years it might; but for the space of ten years, it assuredly would not, and I am for obtaining a fair chance of security for those who are to come after us as well as for ourselves.——When the enemy finds, that we are resolved upon pursuing such a system as I have recommended (and I hope he will find it), he will anticipate the consequences, and will lower his tone accordingly; but, our situation would be as dangerous as ever, if we were to suffer ourselves to be cajoled into a peace, without taking care to prevent him, during that peace, from augmenting his maritime force, or his maritime resources. In making a peace with him, we should set out by asserting, not only our possession of, but our right to, dominion over the seas; and, then we might ask him what he would be willing to give up as the price of our relaxing the exercise of this our right. If he were found ready to yield to a considerable extent, we might consent to do the same; because by his yielding all authority over the Elbe, Holland, and Spain, for instance, the necessity for our exercising our rights with so much rigour would cease to exist. In short, with this dominion, explicitly asserted, and resolutely maintained, in our hands, we have an object of exchange for all those of his conquests that render him a formidable neighbour, and without that dominion, so asserted and maintained, we have nothing to give up, for which he would concede us the most trifling point; nay, he is, or has been, prepared, to demand of us, the surrender of even those rights upon the seas, which all nations have heretofore exercised, and that, too, as the price, not of any surrender on his part, but as the *price of peace*, of mere peace, a peace that would give us no repose, that would not save us a shilling a year in the way of expence, and that would, in two years, enable him to send forth to battle a hundred ships of the line. Would it not be madness to sigh for such a peace? Would it not be treason in a minister of this country to listen for one moment to an overture for peace upon such a basis?——I have before observed, and I repeat the observation, that, as to trade and commerce, though they should be diminished I should, for reasons often given, feel little regret, but that it does not appear to me probable, that a system of warfare, such as I have described, would diminish them. Napoleon's decrees can no more prevent the entrance of British goods into other countries than they can prevent the sun from shining. The goods will be seized as they have been for many years past; but, they will not be thrown into the sea, nor will they be sent upwards in flames and smoke. They will be *sold* after they are seized; somebody will use and pay for them; the cost of all the prohibitions and forfeitures will, as in the case of smuggled goods, fall upon the consumer; the seizures will be mere acts of plunder, and another mode only of raising taxes upon the oppressed people, over whom he shall be able to maintain his sway, without producing, upon a national scale, any injury at all to the merchant or the manufacturer. Let this system of warfare be tried for only two years, and you will see how completely all the notions of Adam Smith and his disciples are of mere counting house origin. ——I have no doubt but this system would, at first, produce great disturbance in commercial affairs, accompanied with a loud outcry amongst the sons of traffic. It would greatly annoy the jews and the jew-like christians of the 'Change; but, to their screamings the ministers must be deaf, or they will soon get into the track of the jew-ridden Pitt, and they will fall covered with the ruins and the curses of their country.

Buenos Ayres.——When this place was first taken, I expressed my sorrow at it, because I thought the capture, after having enriched a few greedy adventurers, would entail a heavy expence upon this country, without a possibility of adding, in the smallest degree, to our means of attacking or of resisting the enemy. When it was re-captured, therefore, I rejoiced, except at the loss of the soldiers and sailors, which were killed or taken. And now, when an attempt to take it again has failed, I have no hesitation at expressing my satisfaction at the event, but, at the same time, my sorrow for the loss and the sufferings of our army. I am pleased, that we have been thus, at once, prevented from doing a lasting injury to our country.——South America can be of no use to us. We are not over peopled. We have not too many men to enlist into the army and the navy. This colony of Buenos Ayres would have required ten thousand troops, at the very least, to be constantly stationed there; it would have required four or five ships of the line together with frigates and smaller vessels, and in the whole, would have kept employed twenty thousand men. There would have been an endless tribe of

Governors and Secretaries and Law-officers and Commissioners, Collectors and Comptrollers and Receivers and Searchers and Quarter Masters and Commissaries and Paymasters and Auditors and agents of every sort and degree, both the pay and the plunder of all of whom must have come out of the property and the labour of the already borne-down people of this country; in short, the taking and the keeping of this colony would have added to the riches of a few relations of the corrupt men, and a few of the merchants, at home, and to the poverty and misery of the people in general. But, as an event of the war, in which we are engaged, we are to consider chiefly the *force* that the colony would have required; and, I believe, we shall not find that force much inferior, in point of magnitude, to the force, which the *ballot* is now intended to create. If this force had remained at home, then, there would have been no necessity for this terrible ballot. The twenty or thirty thousand men, who will be, by the ballot, drawn from productive labour, might have been suffered to remain at their homes and in their employment; and the numerous and endless miseries arising from this dreadful measure might all have been avoided.——No man has, that I know of, attempted to shew, that the possession of Buenos Ayres would have been of any advantage to this country; except, indeed, Sir Home Popham, in his congratulatory letters to the traffick-men at the 'Change, and the knife-grinders at Birmingham. To *them* and to *him* the adventure might be advantageous; but, to the nation, who had to furnish twenty thousand men to defend the colony, and, perhaps, a million of pounds sterling a year to defray the expence of it, no advantage could, as far as I can see, possibly arise.——The troops and the ships will now come home; and, I should think, that the rage for colonial conquest will be a little abated. The mercantile interest and influence is yet very powerful; but, the present state of things is such, that that interest and influence can no longer prevail without absolutely sinking the country. The ministers would fain listen to the 'Change still, but they cannot do it, without at once giving up the country, and then their places are gone. They love the jews very well, but they love themselves better; and, I hope, they love their country better too. They have not, that I have heard, given way to the Corresponding Society, lately formed by the merchants and manufacturers at Liverpool; nor has that impudent combination proceeded, that I have observed, to execute their threats of appealing to the people against the government, unless the government punished Admiral Berkeley; for, their proclamation stopped at nothing short of that. The 'Change has been the rule of this country long enough; and, I, for my part, am not at all displeased, that a state of things has arisen, when their sway *must* by one means or another be put an end to. ——The London prints devoted to the two factions respectively, instead of viewing this event as advantageous to the country, have, on both sides, taken it up for mere factious purposes, and, having, in good set mourning phrases, bewailed the melancholy result of the expedition, they pitch on upon their opponent politicians, as being the cause of it. Amongst the articles of this sort, which have made their appearance, since the arrival of the news from Buenos Ayres, that which was published in the COURIER news-paper, of the 15th instant, is perhaps, the most reprehensible. The commanders are there openly blamed for the result of the attack, and the writer speaks as confidently upon the subject as if he himself had had the command of armies and the conducting of sieges all his life long. But, his greatest delight appears to be to triumph over General Craufurd, and, lest we should be at a loss to discover the source of his spite, he takes care to remind us, that the general was beaten by a "*volunteer* force". Yes, you slave of faction, so he was, but it was by volunteers vastly different from the troops of general Patty-Pan, of whom General Craufurd's division would have beaten a hundred thousand out of their entrenchments. What a scandalous perversion of terms! "Volun-" teers", indeed! but not volunteers who flee into the ranks to avoid the ballot; that is to say, to avoid the *chance* of being employed against the enemy, if he should happen to land in the country. As for General Craufurd, I know nothing of the causes that led to his surrender; but, surely it was as likely to be owing to his eagerness as his backwardness; and, it is, until we have something like proof upon the subject, base in the extreme, to endeavour to excite a popular prejudice against him, and that, too, merely because, when in parliament, he voted against those who now are ministers. ——It is just enough to blame the Whig ministry for the whole of the expedition; because they ought not to have persevered in the manifestly mischievous project of Sir Home Popham and his selfish set; but, it is also just to assert, that, had it not been for that set, there would have been none of that waste of lives and of money, which Buenos Ayres has cost us. That set pleaded

having acted under the immediate directions of Pitt; he, therefore, was the original cause of this loss of men and of money, and we may look upon this as a legacy left by him to his injured and, by him, despised country.——What, I wonder, will become of the appointment, made by the Whigs, of certain custom-house officers at Buenos Ayres? They had given one man a place *for life* there! Some of the wives of these promoted gentlemen had, it is said, bespoken new carriages upon the strength of it. Suppose a wolf, just darting into a sheep fold, and caught in a trap, when he was expecting himself to have caught a lamb, and you have a pretty just emblem of the situation of these greedy expectants, who, observe, would have paid (if they ever paid at all) for their carriages and opera boxes with *money raised upon us*, and not with money raised at Buenos Ayres. What they had got there they would have taken as lawful plunder, and they would have called upon us for their salaries.——The effect, then, of this discomfiture at Buenos Ayres will be to do away the excuse for raising money upon us to give to these idle people; it will prevent some hundreds a year of our money from going into the pockets of mother Catalani and mother Storace; it will abridge, a little, the profits of the music-meetings in the several counties, and, of course, the pleasure which our pious clergy must receive from seeing their *Cathedrals* occupied by hired singers, of a description which it is perfectly unnecessary here to give. More of this another time; but, at present, I cannot, for the life of me, perceive any class of persons, any trade, that will suffer more from this failure at Buenos Ayres than that of the singers; a trade which, I think, might be destroyed altogether without drawing a word of sorrow from any person of common sense.

Danish War.——Since writing the first article of this sheet, the intelligence relating to the capture of the Danish fleet and capital has reached me. This is an event, which, though naturally to be expected, is well calculated to excite feelings of general joy.—— When the expedition was going out, I, like the French, laughed at it; but, I, like the French, thought it was bound to the Prussian territories, and had in view "the deliver-"ance of Europe," after the old Pitt fashion. This enterprize was really well conceived and well executed. It is, I hope, a mere beginning of what we ought long ago to have finished. We shall now see what that famous deliverer of Europe, the Emperor Alexander will do. The toast of "*the "liberty of the seas*," drank by the Imperial Brothers at Tilsit, and echoed by the Russians and Americans, at Petersburgh, *on the anniversary of American Independence*, will now, doubtless, receive an explanation. Mr. Munro, the American minister in London, may now, without waiting for that "grave discussion," of which the Morning Chronicle speaks, with so much impartiality, venture to send word to his government, that it must endeavour to live happily under British dominion of the seas, until Napoleon shall be pleased to relax a good deal in his exercise of dominion by land. But, to say the truth, no dispatches of this kind will be necessary: the American government will see, the moment this intelligence arrives, that we are not to be cajoled or bullied any longer by combinations of merchants and fund-holders; and, I must say this for the good citizens of that country, that, notwithstanding all their vehement language, they are, upon occasions like this, brought to listen to reason as soon as any citizens in all the world. In short, if our ministers are firm, if they only say, in a positive manner," we will uphold the "ancient rights and practices of England upon "the seas," from that moment the dispute with America is at an end.—Napoleon, my readers may be assured, will now talk in a less confident strain about "a *maritime* peace." The Morning Chronicle, indeed, affects to see in this expression nothing more than "a "peace with a *maritime power*;" but, I must think, that this is wilful blindness; for, it appears to me impossible that any body, except, perhaps, Mr. Whitbread and his Edinburgh Reviewers, should really be able to find out *reasons*, whereon to found an opinion, that Napoleon means, or has meant, any thing short of compelling us to make a positive surrender of all the rights upon the seas, which render our naval superiority of any use to us.——But, amidst this exultation, I must confess, that I am continually haunted with fears, that, by-and-by, all of a sudden, we shall find, that this vigour is a momentary flash, and that, at bottom, these ministers, like all the former, for many years past, will be ready to give up the rights of their country, if they should find it necessary to the preservation of their places. We shall have an overture from France to negociate; the offer will be calculated to give a handle to the Whigs to clamour against "eternal war;" the 'Change will, perhaps, be, by that time, ready to join them, and the synagogue to echo the cry; while dear, dear, dear Hanover will plead for peace in strains paternal. This I fear. Before this I fear, that all vigour will vanish like a dream;

but, if this should be the case, though I shall not dare to print my execrations, I shall be at perfect liberty to execrate, and to wait anxiously for the time, when baseness will bring down ruin upon itself.

DOMINION OF THE SEAS.

SIR,——In a time like the present, when too many are desponding, and foreboding nothing but subjugation to their country, and when, in truth, the country can only be saved, by shaking off the leeches of faction, by essential reforms for restoring to our constitution its proper vigour, and by the courage of the people, you are entitled to the warmest thanks of the nation, for your manly counsels. Go on, Sir, and you will soon convince every sound Englishman, that he who should compromise away a particle of our naval dominion, would be an enemy to his country; and that with ministers as courageous as our admirals, and an armed population as gallant as that of Buenos Ayres, which has compelled our evacuation of South America, we have nothing to fear. Who can be so short-sighted as not to see, that if we do not possess ourselves of the island of Zealand, Denmark, and Sweden too, must shortly be in the French and Russian alliance, adding to Buonaparté the maritime means of the whole Baltic for our annoyance? Nay, Sir, and if we cannot hold it, which I conceive to be doubtful, the taking of Copenhagen at present may only put off the evil day; but if the fleet fall into our possession, it will be so much saved from the grasp of our enemy. If, however, not wholly bereaved of our senses, we shall not allow any temporary advantage we may gain in the Baltic, to divert us one moment from completely arming our population, although that must be attended with a sacrifice to the leeches to whom I have alluded; for if, to borrow an expression from your friend Sheridan, we give them arms to fight with, we must give them freedom to fight for; or it will be a matter of too much indifference to the lower classes, whether they shall be taxed to furnish a marriage portion to the daughter of a wealthy earl, and to pension the gentlemen of "the Regiment" when out of place, or to pay a body of French troops for doing us the honour to superintend the police of England.——On the subject of naval pre-eminence, and the tone with which it ought to be maintained, I think you will approve of an idea in "*The Trident*," written by your friend Major Cartwright, that instead of that unmeaning piece of patch-work we call the Union Flag, we should adopt a flag bearing a winged TRIDENT. "Let it be examined," says he, "as an emblem of union, and as a "banner of war. First, then, in respect to "union, composed of the spears of the "three nations, fitted, hooped, and ri-"vetted together, until, without individual "diminution, it be made *one*, it not only "expresses the abstract idea of union, but "also typifies the complete *union of power*, "always to be wielded by one arm and "obedient to one will; and at the same "time it shews the character of that power "to be naval. And then, again, as re-"ferring to war, the sailors of the three "nations in this banner must see, that the "union of the three national spears con-"stitutes the very sceptre of the sea; "whence, by an association the most na-"tural, and the most flattering to the hu-"man mind, will spring a determination to "make it such. Seeing in their flag

'Dominion's symbol, and bright glory's sign;'

"and seeing wrapped in that flag *the very* "*existence of their country*, what enemy, "what force, what superiority of numbers, "would be able to wrest it from them?— "THE TRIDENT AT THE MAIN! what an "object of ambition to a British officer?" "—On the copper coin of the kingdom, "bearing his Majesty's image and super-"scription, the *trident* has for some time "graced the hand of *Britannia*; and we "believe that *Buonaparté*, in the prelimi-"naries of peace, has been perfectly silent "on this assumption.—On Cæsar's penny, "the meanest currency of the shop, what "can be the beneficial effect of introducing "the trident? But, *borne at the mast* "*head*, how it must fire the naval mind, "and keep alive that heroic spirit which "placed it there! Whatever of this kind "we think fit to do, let it be done with "dignity. If we are to use the trident at "all as a national symbol, let it not be "slipped into the meanest medium of ex-"change, to be chucked from hand to hand "in the low commerce of the pot-house; "but wave aloft in air at the admiral's flag-"staff, to beget high thoughts and great "actions."—Perfectly agreeing, Sir, with you, that England has nothing to fear but from the corruption of her own factions, if the wise, the virtuous, and the brave will but unite, small as the band may at first be, the time is not distant when the nation will hail them as its deliverers, and which must be the fact whenever that nation will take their advice.——ALBION. *Sept.* 15, 1807.

DOMINION OF THE SEAS.

SIR,——The impartiality for which you are so justly praised, will, I hope, induce you to insert in your Register, a few observations in opposition to the doctrine which you maintain on the important subject of our naval superiority.—The grand principle on which you and those who have followed you on the same subject, maintain the right of this country in the power which it assumes over neutral flags at sea is, "that force alone confers right in affairs wherein nations are concerned." This proposition I never can accede to, and do contend that *occupancy or first possession confers right.* The Omnipotent Being, when he created the world, gave to man dominion over the sea and earth, and endowed him with reason to see good from evil, and to do justice and avoid injustice. That reason shews that it is just for man to enjoy those gifts, or that portion of them which he can first seize on, and that it is unjust and contrary to the will of the All Benevolent Donor to molest him in that enjoyment. This dictate of reason is written in characters as legible as that which shews the injustice of depriving another of the gift of life, and would have pointed out to Cain the injustice of depriving his brother Abel of his flocks, or other possessions which he had acquired, as well as of his life. It is on this foundation that all separate and exclusive enjoyments of property is erected; for, on what other ground can it be supported, that one man should be intitled solely to possess this or that portion of land, than that he derived it from the first man who had the good fortune to gain possession of it? If this argument stood in need of elucidation, the laws relative to real property in this kingdom would furnish one wherein it will be found, that cases might and frequently did occur, of real occupancy in lands, before it was put an end to by a late act of parliament. When an estate was granted to one man for the life of another, or in our law jargon, when a man was seized of an estate, *pur autre vie,* and died during the life of *cestui que vie,* the principles and rules of our system of real property, would not suffer this estate to go to the heir. What then was to become of it? the granter of the estate was not intitled to it; for the period during which he had granted it away (namely, the life of the *cestui que vie)* was not at an end. And there being no owner, it of course was in the same situation it was before it became the exclusive property of an individual or individuals; namely, in common, and the first person who entered on the property and took possession of it was entitled to the enjoyment; and it would have been unjust if another more powerful had entered and turned him out by force. It was the occupancy or first possession which conferred the right, and the force of one stronger than himself could not have deprived him of it. It might, indeed, have taken away the possession of the land, but that would not have deprived the first occupant of the right, and transferred it to the ejector. It would have been a manifest act of injustice, not because it is prohibited by act of parliament, or by the common law of the land, to be collated in Coke or any writer on the subject; but, that it is dissonant to that common feeling of right which all rational beings possess. And on that account the law of England would have granted redress, by re-establishing the first occupant in the possession of the property. This estate by occupancy is destroyed, as I stated before, by act of parliament, which enables the owner of the estate *pur autre vie,* to dispose of it by his will, and in default of such disposition, confers it on the executors or administrators to be disposed of as the personal estate. A case of ancient occupancy may be found in the scriptures, where our forefathers, it will be seen, occupied a portion of land as long and no longer than it afforded pasturage to their flocks. When that was exhausted they removed to some other convenient spot; but we no where find that they were ever expelled by a stronger power than themselves, or that they were molested in the peaceable enjoyment. An instance of occupancy at this day occurs at the Theatres, where the person who first takes possession of a seat acquires a right to it; and if he is deprived of it by force, he is deprived of it unjustly, and the law will punish him for the assault. Another modern instance of occupancy is this, when a fisherman is exercising his profession on any part of the sea, he by taking possession acquires a temporary exclusive right in that place, and if he is deprived of it by force, the person who so deprives him does not acquire *a right,* but he acquires a possession by wrong. Other instances occur to me, such as ships acquiring a right to our docks and rivers, to the particular spots where they first take possession; but I will enlarge no further on this part of the subject. Does not all this prove that all those gifts which were designed in common for all mankind, become the right of those who first take possession or occupancy of them? And, consequently, that those vessels which are on the sea acquire a temporary right to that part of it which they occupy, and that it is unjust to deprive them or molest them in the enjoyment of it? With re-

gard to the expediency of the measure, and the consequences which will result from the relinquishment of the right of search, I will not at present enter into the consideration of this, as I consider the sole point at issue to be, whether the exercise of this right be just or unjust.——R.

DOMINION OF THE SEAS.

Sir;—On reading one of your late Registers upon the subject of the dispute with America, it occurred to me that you might not have seen the printed instructions from the Admiralty to the Captains of our ships of war to "demand Englishmen out of Foreign Ships." It is as follows—"when "he meets with any Foreign Ship or vessel "he is to send a commission officer to enquire if any seamen who are subjects of "His Majesty be on board her, and to demand all such, obliging their masters to "pay them their wages to that day: But "this is to be done with civil and friendly "behaviour on the part of His Majesty's "Officers, who are to be very careful not "to offer any violence or ill treatment to "the subjects of His Majesty's friends or "allies."—You will not fail to perceive that it is the bounden duty of a Captain to search *every* foreign ship that he meets with, without further particular direction on that head, and that altho' he is not instructed to use force, yet to what end is he ordered to demand the seamen, if he is not bound to resist in case they should be refused?—It would be placing him in the situation, and in fact, making him act the part, of a bully. —The honour of the flag too is gone for ever! Heretofore "it was ordered when "any of His Majesty's ships meet with any "ship or ships belonging to any Foreign "Prince or state within His Majesty's Seas "(which extend to Cape Finisterre) it is expected that the said foreign ships do take "in their topsail, and strike their flag, in "acknowledgment of His Majesty's Sovereignty in these Seas; and if any shall "refuse or offer to resist, it is enjoined to "all flag officers and commanders to use "their utmost endeavours to compel them "thereto, and not suffer any dishonour to be "done to His Majesty." The first time I ever saw the flag of a foreigner taken in, and his topsail struck (which was the second time I went down Channel, and when I was very young) I leave you to judge Mr. Cobbett, and nobody can more truly appreciate them, what my feelings were; if I were to attempt to explain them I am confident I should do myself great injustice. We are happily yet in such a state, that if we are firm, and your opinions are acted upon, we may resume these rights; and I hope you will never cease to ring in the ears of the ministry, that to abandon the Dominion of the Seas is to lose the only chance we may ever have of resuming our influence in the scale of nations, and of counterbalancing in any degree the gigantic power of the ruler of the continent.—I am, Sir; Your sincere friend, Z. Y. *Plymouth, 9th September*, 1807.

DOMINION OF THE SEAS.

Sir,—I have read many of your publications with great satisfaction; it is the lot of most men situated as you are now and then to advance things that are not founded in fact. In treating of the dispute between this country and America in your last paper, you assert Vice Admiral the Honourable George Berkeley was in duty bound or words to that effect, to search the American Man of War for deserters. The annals of the British Navy do not give us an instance of any such attempt being made prior to this; and the naval instructions relating to the subject, an extract of which is given herewith, evidently relates to Merchantmen, as the master is to be applied to for the payment of such wages as may be due to them. —I agree with you the worst, and most disgraceful part of Admiral Berkeley's Order, is the offering to have one of His Majesty's Ships searched, a right he had no power to concede, and which in its nature being illegal no officer was bound to obey it.—On the subject I have only to add, if an American Ship of War had attempted to do what the Leopard has done it would on our part have been considered a just cause of war; why America is to overlook it, or brook an insult of this nature which no other independant country ever yet did, I know not; if this kingdom wished to wage war with America it is but shabby pretence we have adopted.—I am, Sir, &c A NAVAL OFFICER. *Portsmouth, September* 11, 1807.

Article 23d. Naval Instructions.—"When "he meets with any Foreign Ship or Vessel, he is to send a Lieut. to enquire "whether there be on board of her any "Seamen who are subjects of His Majesty, and if there be he is to demand them, "provided it does not distress the Ship, and "to require the master to pay them the "wages due to them to that day; but he is "to do this without detaining the Vessel "longer than shall be necessary, or offering any violence to, or in any way ill "treating the Master or his Crew."

EXPATRIATION OF BRITISH SUBJECTS.

On the Necessity of a Declaratory Law or a Stipulation with Foreign Powers, respecting the Expatriation of British Subjects, particularly with the United States of America.

SIR,——Whether we are still to continue in amity with the United States of America, or whether we are doomed to add another enemy to those who have joined the standard of the French Emperor, in maintenance of that which we deem to be our right to resist, either from the policy of the thing, or under the impression that our naval superiority entitles us to insist upon the right of search on the ocean, and out of the limits and boundaries of the United States of America, and to take from neutral ships of war, seamen who may appear to our naval officers to be British subjects, I shall not now discuss; this I may attempt hereafter. It is my present intention to bring into view the peculiar and awful situation into which British subjects, the mercantile part in particular, precipitate themselves by becoming citizens of America, and by their attempts to cast off their natural allegiance to this United Kingdom, take upon themselves to serve two masters, instead of expatriating and ridding themselves of one power to whom they owe a natural allegiance.—Men of enlightened and liberal ideas have held, that if a man is not enabled to throw off his natural allegiance whenever he finds himself disposed to do so, he is a slave not a subject. Perhaps, if I quote the reflection of an author, probably not unknown to you, his opinion may have more weight than any argument of mine. Monsieur Pecquet, author of the Spirit of Political Maxims, (being an illustration of Montesquieu's Esprit des Loix) in chapter the 21st "Des Lettres de Natu-" ralité," says, "Le Citoyen, comme l'ha-" bitant du Monde, conserve une sorte de " liberté naturelle, de renoncer aux avan-" tages particulières de sa naissance, d'adop-" ter un autre état et de s'enfaire adopter, " *sans quoi ce seroit réellement un esclave.* " Il n'y a des chaines supportables, en ce " genre que celles que forme l'attrait et non " pas la contrainte.—Ces changemens ou " transmigrations ne se font jamais, que " dans l'espérance d'être mieux que dans sa " propre patrie."—This doctrine is certainly consonant to reason, and why it should not be adopted generally, and the spirit of it incorporated with the law of nations, I am utterly at a loss to conceive, particularly as this united kingdom sanctions the admission of foreigners to the privileges of British subjects, whilst the black letter of the law of this country has in the opinion of many, fixed as indelible marks of non-expatriation upon its natural born subjects, as have been imprinted on the sable sons of Ismael. We should not blow hot and cold; the latitude we give to foreigners applying for naturalization, and that which should be extended to natural born subjects of the United Kingdom, when disposed to expatriate themselves, should be reciprocal and founded on parity of reason.——That the late treaty between Great Britain and the United States of America, should not have contained a declaratory clause with respect to an accurate designation of a British subject, and an American citizen, when we recollect that the United States of America were once a portion of the British empire, cannot but be matter of astonishment to reflecting persons. The perilous situation those respective persons place themselves in, from their attempts to withdraw their natural allegiance, and the reflection, that from the uncertainty of their right so to withdraw themselves, their parent country may become involved in all the calamities of war from their secession, and the claim to them as subjects to the claiming power, if such are found on board of ships of war, and probably aiding an enemy, (as in fact, seems to have been the case in the late rencontre between the Leopard and Chesapeak off the Capes of Virginia,) are considerations of themselves fully sufficient to warrant the expectation of a declaratory clause, and which, should a new treaty be entered into, I hope will not be unattended to. To aim at prevention of a rupture is more praiseworthy and defensible than to heal one. The adoption of the declaratory clause I allude to, ought not to be delayed a moment. The subject, if men will give themselves the trouble of reflection, must be considered to be of such momentous importance, that the most distant doubt ought not longer to continue; a due consideration of the importance of the matter in question, must necessarily involve an inquiry into the means of remedy.—In order to elucidate the subject, let us notice the declarations of our ancient lawyers respecting aliens. Littleton says, (sec. 198) "he is an alien which " is *born* out of the ligeance of the king;" but, throughout his invaluable relique he does not convey to us, that to be born out of the ligeance of the king is the sole essence of alienage. We are, therefore, not precluded inferring from the above quoted passage, that there may be other modes of becoming alienated or expatriated, than that which arises by reason of birth. The positive law is not silent upon the subject, although the com-

mon law does involve it in mystery.—Bracton upon the subject of alienage and expatriation, says, (lib. 5, fol. 415, 427) that the exception to a man by reason of alienage, propter defectum *nationis*, should rather be propter defectum *subjectionis*; he does not expressly state that a man cannot be absolved from, or exchange his allegiance, nor can such inference be drawn from this passage; he observes, that an exception to a man that he is an alien ought not to be alledged, propter defectum *nationis*, by reason of a defect of birth in another country than England, not subject to the power and authority of the king, because it may be intended, that although he was born in another nation, he may be a subject; for he may be naturalized or otherwise subject to the King of England; but it must be alledged propter defectum *subjectionis*, by reason of a defect of *subjection*, an expression admitting of no ambiguity, no doubtful construction, but directing us to a plain manifest conclusion, viz. that at the time of the allegation of his incapacity, he is not then actually *subject* to the king, which does admit that though he may have been once subject to a certain power, he may not be subject to that power all his life time. If this conclusion is correct, the power he is subject to allows him the means of expatriating himself.——Coke in his Commentary (129 a) states, "nemo patriam in quâ natus est, exuere, nec ligeantiæ debitum ejurare possit;' which doctrine he considers to be laid down in the case of Dr. Storie (13 Eliz. Dyer, fol. 3006); but, instead of an express determination upon a well grounded principle, it seems to be a mere dictum. From this solitary decision or dictum, which soever it be, we cannot be justified in adopting the passage in Coke, or holding his opinion, however respectable, to be conclusive, as we do not find that this case of Dr. Storie has ever been acted upon or brought into view as a settled doctrine. I bring into view, Mr. Cobbett, all the material passages that occur to me, whether for or against the principle of expatriation. I wish to have that settled which from the various opinions declared upon the subject, seems involved in obscurity; and you will agree with me, that we cannot have a better time to set the subject at rest, than upon the negociation of a new treaty with America; and which, I hope, will contain a declaratory clause upon the subject in doubt, either admitting or expressly disallowing a natural born subject of Great Britain and Ireland to expatriate himself and to become a citizen of America.—If we refer to the Statute Law of England, we shall find that the subject matter of doubt has been differently handled, as the political interest of the country might occasionally require. By the statute of 14 and 15 Henry 8th. chap 4, it appears that subjects of England in this reign went into Holland, Zealand, Brabant, Flanders, and into other countries of foreign princes, and were there sworn to the obedience of such foreign sovereigns; wherefore, it was enacted, that all subjects born in England, and sworn to be subjects of foreign princes as long as they shall so abide, and be subject to foreign princes, shall pay customs, &c. in England, as *other* strangers pay. This statute is a general one, and concerns all the king's subjects, bywhich it is implied that persons may become subjects to other powers, and that by such election to depart from their natural allegiance they become, and it does seem to me properly so, aliens to their native country for so long time as they shall chuse to continue their new subjection; but, if they elect to become subjects again to England, they may have the king's writ, which will entitle them to be reinstated in all their former rights and immunities as Englishmen, upon their residing again in England. The next material statute is in the reign of James the First (3 Jac. 1 cap. 4 sec. 18, 22, 23), which enacts, that if any natural born subject be withdrawn from his allegiance, as therein mentioned, he shall be guilty of high treason. The 18th section of that statute refers to persons serving any foreign prince which bears relation to military men. The 22d section adjudged it treason for any person to seduce Englishmen to become subjects, to another country; this, I think, implies it had been the usage theretofore to withdraw their allegiance, and at that time it was found expedient to stop the extensive progress it was making by the above statute, which in the latter section clearly admits the right of expatriation. And the 23d section makes it in the like manner penal for any person to become subject to another country, within the meaning of the 22d section. If, therefore, the person withdraws his allegiance of his own mere motion, and not at the request or solicitation of another, or is seduced by that other person, I apprehend he is not subject to the penalty of high treason, enacted by the statute, as the 23d section expressly says, "any such person as "aforesaid, withdrawn as aforesaid," it therefore, does not essentially disannul the implication and inference of the statute of Henry. The next and last statute which I shall mention, was made in the reign of George 1st. (5 Geo. I. chap. 27) and relates to artificers, an indefinite and very general

term, going into foreign countries, and not returning within six months after warning given them by the British ambassador, where the emigrant may be resident, shall be deemed aliens; by which statute we see that Englishmen are expressly allowed to become subjects to other powers; they are by this statute alienated from England, and consequently, may enrol themselves as subjects to a foreign nation, and participate in its privileges; the legislature unequivocally permits them to withdraw their allegiance.—Now, Mr. Cobbett, do you not think with me, after the above inconsistent doctrines, in which the ablest lawyers, and even law itself materially differ; that it would be well to set the subject at rest for ever. Does it seem that the character of British subject is unalienable? Is it reasonable it should so seem? But, whether it is rational or irrational, I deem it absolutely requisite, that it be declared unequivocally by the legislature, or by the executive in every treaty, whether a British subject can or cannot expatriate himself. It is requisite, because should a war break out between this country and a foreign power, we might be involved in all the horrors of a civil war, if a British subject swearing allegiance to a foreign nation, cannot according to the laws of England expatriate himself; and that man, if taken in arms by *either* country, would be subject to the penalty of high treason. It is requisite also, because it has been held by persons sitting in judgment upon the claims of creditors on individuals of a foreign nation, that "although the character of *British subject is* "*unalienable* by the individual," yet the "*acceptance of that of subject of* another "country, bars all right to complain of the "acts of the latter." Now, what is this but saying that a British subject *cannot* expatriate himself, but that *having expatriated* himself, he must no more look to his parent country for redress against the acts of his new task masters; here is a declaration that a British subject cannot withdraw his allegiance in one line, and in the next, an admission that he may accept the character of a foreign subject, or in other words, that he may *alien* his *unalienable* rights.—It is matter of serious reflection, that not only as to the present subject, but to a variety of other topics, we see the common law of England uncertain and mysterious, and the written law of the nation swelled to a most enormous bulk, in efforts to elucidate the common law, but oftentimes tending to perplex the subject. When after a lapse of several years the book is opened, it is found that twenty years are not sufficient to enable us to reconcile difficulties, and expound truly the intent of the statute law as was originally proposed. The statute above mentioned of Henry 8th, apparently admits not of the least ambiguity, until that of James, the enacting of which casts some suspicion upon the existing authority, in such full and ample manner as it was construed prior to the passing of that act. This statute it is not doubted, was intended to prevent persons being reconciled to the Popish religion, but it imports as well the penalty to be extended to persons being withdrawn from their allegiance under certain circumstances, and not in pursuance of their own free and uncontrouled will and pleasure; and the statute of George 1st. allows expatriation; had not the statute of Henry 8th been sufficiently strong, that of George seems calculated to free persons from their allegiance, most clearly and unequivocally declaring, that they shall be deemed aliens to all intents and purposes, and be treated as it afterwards enacts aliens are used and dealt with.—As a general doctrine, I agree that it is essential to the good government, and well being of society, that man be considered upon his birth as enlisted in that state where such birth happens to be, but that by such his birth he becomes a vassal to the soil; that he is for ever incapable of afterwards electing his place of residence; are ideas too monstrous and absurd to be seriously adopted; but, however, granting such to be the case, upon what mutuality or rational ground is it that this United Kingdom shall countenance that doctrine of permission to subjects of other countries to become her subjects, and yet will not extend the principle where her own subjects are concerned, and desire to become subjects of another country. If such has been considered to be the old law, (indeed I know it has been thus acted upon) it is time that the evil and pernicious tendencies of such absurd doctrines be done away. If our circumstances, our political interests, our connections are not what they were some hundred years since, our conduct should be new modelled; we have undergone repeated changes, and we no longer dread incroachments upon absurd doctrines.—A law clearly and unequivocally prohibitory of the removal of Englishmen to foreign countries, (with intent to expatriate themselves) does not in the catalogue of statute law or custom exist, and such a law appears to me if it were to exist, subversive of the principles of nature and society. Still, however, our common as well as statute law from my foregoing observations, cast obscurity upon the right of expatriation; and it is meet that by a declaratory

law or stipulation in the treaty, the inconveniences now resulting from inconsiderate expatriation should be guarded against. Would it not be a melancholy thing, for example, if an individual had left this United Kingdom, and become a member of another government, with intent wholly to relinquish any claims upon the British government, but those that every government is bound to extend to the individual of another; or, suppose an Englishman marries a foreigner, (which I believe to be the case with our present ambassador in America), and he chuses to reside in the country where his wife was born, and where her connections and property may be, (the act of marrying a foreigner entitling him to participate in all the privileges of such foreign country), and that a war should break out between the two countries, and the expatriated man is found in arms against his native country, and the only consideration remaining is, whether that man is to be dealt with as a traitor to his native country. A doubt, however, should not remain for a moment upon such a serious matter, for many hundred persons are in a situation similar to the above. May the horrors of a second war with America be averted: this country has not yet forgotten the evil effects of the first, although more than thirty years have passed away since that took place. But, many Englishmen have sworn allegiance to America, and renounced their native country, and may be brought into serious difficulties in consequence.——I admire the law of America as it stood in 1791, and I believe stands at this time, permitting foreigners to become subject to her: by relinquishing their native countries, *pro tempore*, they elect to become citizens of the United States, and conforming to certain forms; and that country likewise consents to the new subject continuing subjection no longer than he pleases; for by going into a court and delivering in a resignation of the rights of citizenship the person is by the law to which I allude immediately expatriated.—The law of England upon such a momentous point should be in like manner clear and unequivocal, either expressly allowing or prohibiting expatriation, and prevent the evil consequences which may ensue by reason of the doubtful tendency of the above mentioned topics, otherwise persons unintentionally may commit errors detrimental to their country as well as themselves, which errors may instead of venial faults be construed into crimes.——S. V.——*7th Sept.*

IRELAND'S INTERNAL SITUATION.

Letter 2.

Sir,——Your having done me the honour of inserting my letter upon the internal situation of Ireland, in your last Register, of the 28th of August, encourages me to address you again; not that I have any ambition that my own words should appear in print, but I only wish to put you in possession of some things that have occurred to me, which, if worth laying before the public, you will, I hope, do in your own plain and forcible language. In my letter above alluded to, I asserted, that it was my opinion, that to give encouragement to manufacture in Ireland, was the chief, if not the only thing, to be done for the benefit of that country. Now, Sir, on the contrary, with regard to England, I am of opinion, that the overstrained (if I may use such a phrase) encouragement given to manufactures and commerce, has contributed *to increase the poor rates*, and to render a very considerable part of our population indigent and miserable. From some observations you have occasionally made in your Register, I believe, in this case, you think as I do; but, I perceive in general that you lay most of the blame to the taxes. In my mode of thinking, considerable mischief arises from the taxes, but not so much as may be supposed. The taxes (as I conceive) are part of the wealth, or capital of the country taken from the people, to be applied to feed, clothe, arm, &c. those who add nothing to the common stock. If the whole, or part of this capital, remained with the different individuals from whom it was received, some would be employed in encouraging useful labour, some in giving encouragement to what would be useless, or pernicious: that part of the capital which would have given encouragement to useful labour, must of course be a national loss. Now, Sir, as I apprehend that manufactures and commerce have been carried to too great an extent in England, I doubt if any part of the capital taken by the taxes, are a loss to the nation, except that part which would have been employed in agriculture. I do not mean to infer from this, that the lands now in a state of culture are badly managed; far from it; generally speaking, they are quite otherwise: and truly, I find little fault with the farmers, except when I see them running into the Irish system, and cultivating *potatoes and grain*, without keeping a due proportion of cattle and sheep upon their lands: but I should not blame the farmers on this account, as I consider the alteration in their former excellent practice, as *arising from an act of the legislature*. You may recollect, Mr. Cobbett, at the time of the scarcity, when the lower classes of our manufacturers, and others,

were reduced to the greatest distress; that many well meaning people filled the newspapers with receipts for potatoe bread, &c. not considering that these experiments in the art of cookery, were more likely to diminish than add to the short stock of provisions then to be divided among us. We had also soup shops, which aggravated the evil, by supplying the idle with what the industrious wanted. Potatoes were recommended to be more cultivated. At length Parliament thought it necessary to interfere. When I heard that this was to be the case, I certainly had hopes—not that I expected that speeches, or acts of Parliament, would lead to an immediate supply of food—but I was in hopes, that the *forest laws and common rights would at length be got rid of*; and that those people who received parish relief, and others who were struggling to support themselves, by labour in towns, would find employment in cultivating the *waste lands of the island*; and I was also in hopes that, instead of the military being permitted any longer, by their idleness and bad example in quarters, to injure the morals of the people, that *they* also would come in for a share of useful labour. I figured to myself that I saw them encamped, or hutted, upon the wastes of the country, and sometimes employed in cultivating the earth, and at other times attending to their military duties. I imagined I saw the artillery horses drawing the plough, and at other times the cannon. I could not help following, in my mind's eye, his Majesty (who is so fond of farming), in his tours to review his troops, sometimes as soldiers, sometimes as agriculturists. *How glorious would it be (thought I) for the King to restore what William rendered useless! How easy would it be for him, at any time, to indemnify himself for the loss of Hanover by promoting the cultivation of the New Forest and the numerous wastes of his kingdom.* Alas! Mr. Cobbett, how have my hopes been blasted; for instead of the legislature passing an act to simplify the laws relating to the inclosure of commons and wastes, and by that means giving encouragement to the bringing into culture *a greater breadth of land*, in order to supply more of the necessaries of life for the numerous soldiers and sailors in the King's service; for the sailors also in the merchant service, together with the merchants themselves, the manufacturers, and trades-people; for the host of idle gentlemen and gentlewomen, who keep innumerable idle servants and idle horses, to consume the fruits of the earth; and lastly, in order to supply provision *for our aged, indigent, and infirm poor* — the Parliament, after much debating, thought that the best method to be adopted was, to give every possible encouragement (and, I believe, a bounty) to farmers to grow potatoes. One person (I think his name was Buxton) made an objection to this measure: he said, that it would induce farmers to grow that root on land better suited to other crops. I conclude he was aware that, by encouraging the culture of potatoes, we might possibly increase the price of butchers' meat, together with the raw materials absolutely necessary for the manufacture of articles in common use in countries in a state of civilization. I apprehend, from what has come to pass, it has been proved, he had sufficient reason for giving the opinion he did; for, notwithstanding we have had abundant crops since that time, and no disease or failure among the sheep or the cattle, yet meat has kept up at an enormous price. Many persons now farm their lands with much less stock than they used, and cultivate alternate crops of potatoes and grain, sending both to market. Some *few* keep back the potatoe crops, and apply them to the fatting of cattle: these last ought to be the best judges whether they answer better than turnips or other roots, but it is acknowledged they are not fit for sheep. Before the legislature interfered, and *forced* the cultivation of potatoes, the practice, upon all tillage farms, was, to intermix corn, artificial grass, and root crops: the root crops (generally turnips) as well as the grasses, were invariably consumed by the farmer's own stock; by which means there was a constant supply of manure upon the farm, and the land was continually improving, instead of being exhausted. The farmer likewise, with the assistance of the miller, malster, brewer, baker, butcher, clothier, tanner, shoemaker, and tailor, actually furnished almost every necessary of life. Under the Irish potatoe and grain system, without stock, some of these trades must fail. There can be no objection, however, to potatoes as a crop, if, in their raw state, they are found to be as good for sheep and cattle as turnips, cabbage, carrots, or any thing else: *all I contend for is*, that they should not be made the chief food of the lower classes here, as well as in Ireland, which they are gradually becoming. Neither does the population, I apprehend, require to be checked (as I have heard it asserted) in either island: nor should any of the inhabitants *(or would they with proper management)*, that is, encouraging manufactures in Ireland and cultivating the wastes in England,

long continue to be fed upon roots. I shall now observe, that it is not the little niceties, and the little intricacies of farming, that are of such consequence: for instance, whether the land should be ploughed with a swing or wheel plough; whether the broad cast or drill husbandry is the most advantageous; whether the South-down, Leicester, or the cross between the two, are the best sheep, and such like matters: but it is absolutely necessary, if we design to have a large army and well-manned and numerous fleets, and that our taxes should produce what they have done, and that our poor rates should be lessened, and that we should not be in dread of famine by one deficient crop, *that we should cultivate a greater breadth of land.* In England we want more sheep, more cattle, more roots, more artificial grasses, more grain, more hay: in Ireland, coal and manufactures. I therefore say, that if Buonaparté should force us, by shutting us out of the ports of Europe, to employ our capital and industry in cultivating the commons and wastes of England, he will, I think, after all, deserve well of this country, as he will thereby increase our resources.——I am, Sir, &c.

Sept. 5, 1807. M. H.

SINKING FUND.

(Being C. S.'s fifth letter, which is particularly submitted to the most serious attention of the Stockholders, Landed and Mercantile interests of the nation.)

Sir,——As the charges, if I may so express myself, which I have already made against the funding system and sinking fund (see Political Register, Vol. IX. and X. March 15th, April 19th, August 23d, and Oct. 18th, 1806), remain unanswered, and, I believe, unanswerable; and, as you may be, perhaps, satisfied that it is not for want of knowledge, but for want of *principle*, that your own, and the hints of different writers, given at different times, in the Political Register, as to what the security of the state directs to be done with these funds, have not been attended to, you may hold it as an opinion, I grant, that I ought to have dropped the subject, and leave sufferings and disappointments to correct those evils which have been hitherto incorrigible to reason and reflection. Perhaps I ought to have done so, because to pursue an useless and a thankless line of conduct is, in all cases, folly in practice, however wise in theory. But, as you have revived the subject, on July the 25th, by the insertion of A. G.'s analysis of Lord Henry Petty's new plan of finance; as the circumstances of the times may incline your readers a little more, to consider the subject of these funds otherwise than a dry and barren study which belongs to statesmen exclusively; and as my object is to shew, upon the authority of Lord Henry Petty, if he is fairly reported, that we have more obstinacy than ignorance to contend with on the part of those who contend for the advantages of the funding system and sinking fund, I see no harm I can do by reverting again to the subject, if I do no good. For if there be cases in which errors and delusions, frauds and oppressions, can lead to the happiness and security of the deluded and oppressed, I defy the ingenuity of man to apply any of them to the funding system and sinking fund, and shew that their operations can secure similar advantages to the nation. With respect to the sinking fund, as being the immediate subject of my remarks, I have long held it as an opinion that no man, possessing the common powers of reason, could for a moment mistake its present pernicious and ultimate ruinous effect, if he would but attend to the whole of its operations and consequences; to its action and reaction on the nominal value of all real property; and then to the effect of that nominal value upon the real and relative condition of all classes of the community. Unalterably fixed in this opinion, and so far back as the year 1800, when I attempted to draw the public attention to the discharge of the national debt, as contributing its share, in common with speculation, and deficient crops, towards the pauper manufacturing dearness of that and the preceding year, the sinking fund appeared to me in no other light than that of an engine invented by sheer ignorance, or employed by interested design, to create false appearances of national power; to raise false hopes of national relief from the confessed, at last, oppression of the funding system; to increase our nominal wealth, or, medium of exchange; and, therefore, to depreciate its exchangeable value, that is, to raise the price of all exchangeable articles, in the proportion which the capital discharged, and consequently thrown into trade, bears to that which was in circulation or trade before any part of the debt was discharged. The idea of discharging the debt, and that of throwing its capital into trade, cannot be separated. As the stockholders cease to be public annuitants they must, generally, become private traders o some description. And as the capital in trade is by that means increased, so are those calamities, both public and private, heightened, which as naturally result from its depreciated value, as that deprecated value results from any increase of its quantity

which is not balanced by a corresponding increase in the productions of agriculture and manufactures. As every article of trade or commerce is already in the possession of owners, the annuitants who go into trade must buy before they can sell. For instance, then, the quantity of goods in the market at any given time, is the same in quantity at another given time, but the sum of money owing to the increase of buyers is doubled at the last period. Consequently, (admitting the prudence or necessity of laying out the whole of their money) the price is advanced 50 per cent. to all traders; and to the consumer more in proportion to the profit they charge upon their capital; which is a clear deduction from the profits of the old traders. Whereas, had the quantity of goods in the market been doubled also, the price would not have risen any, or rather, the value of money would not have fallen: for, in this case it is not, as commonly expressed, the goods that rose, but the money that fell in value. On this principle, which is irrefutable in itself, and undeniable in its application to the subject of our inquiry; and presuming, that it is naturally impossible to increase the productions of agriculture and manufacture in a corresponding proportion to the increase which the sinking fund, or discharge of the national debt must make in the circulating medium, or capital in trade, it follows, as cause and effect, that the depreciation of its value, with all its consequent ruin to the funded, landed, and mercantile interests, will be in the proportion in which the increase of capital will exceed that of the productions of agriculture and manufacture, when the sinking fund succeeds in discharging the national debt. How far the increase of capital may exceed the increase of these productions, when this admirable fund accomplishes its object, must depend upon the extent to which the agriculture and manufactures of the nation is carried beyond their present state. At this extent I will not even guess; sufficient it is for those to know, who would not go blindfoldedly to destruction, rather than part with the interest which they have in the oppression and plunder of their country, that such extent cannot be equal to the extent of capital which the sinking fund will throw into trade. But, supposing, for the sake of argument, that our agriculture and manufactures, have already found their limit, or, are incapable of extention; 2. that the present capital in trade amounts to 100 millions †, and that no addition is hereafter made to it by the ability of the bank and country banks, to supply the insatiable cravings of speculation; and, 3. That the funded property amounts to 600 millions; when the debt is discharged, the capital in trade will amount to 700 millions; the depreciation of it will therefore be in the proportion of seven to one of its present exchangeable value; and the effect will be, could human nature endure the wretchedness and torments of the case, that the quartern loaf which now sells for a shilling, must then be sold for 7s.; that the taxes and tithes, which now amount to above 70 millions, must then exceed 490 millions, if the present establishments are in existence; that the labour lost to agriculture and manufacture in coining and managing the circulating medium, must be seven times greater than it now is; and that the paupers which now amount to above 1,200,000, must then exceed 8,400,000, supposing the depreciation of money, in its various bearings on the condition of the people, to be the exclusive cause of pauperism. We can admit, Sir, for the sake of argument, that the sinking fund, fed as it may be with paper currency, can liquidate the claims of the public upon government and give it time; nay, in 24 hours, if the money could be counted in so short a time; but, as it will produce the effects I have just described, if our agriculture and manufacture be incapable of extention, one of which is to give government a claim upon the public for taxes to the amount of 490 millions annually, the public will have gained nothing but wretchedness, and the loss of the difference between that sum and the taxes which they now pay. Yet, it is impossible to retreat, and go on with the funding system, because its interest would amount to the same sum in the course of time, and produce similar effects to the public. What then is to be done since we can neither advance or retreat without plunging ourselves deeper into difficulties? Can we stand still? No! for then the Emperor of the French would tax us *still heavier*, than we are, or can be; seize upon the commerce of the world, and give the laws upon the sea, as well as upon the land. But something must be done, we must either go backward or forward, or stand still, for we cannot fly up into

† When Lord Sidmouth introduced the property tax, he gave the annual income of the nation, money in circulation, or capital in trade, at only 80,000,000. To take it at 100,000,000, will therefore make the depreciation appear less than really it will be when the debt is discharged, admitting even that no increase is otherwise made in the circulating medium.

the air and suspend ourselves between heaven and earth; what then must that something be? Why, Sir, you have frequently recommended a national bankruptcy, or the stoppage of those annuities, the loss of which would not convert the annuitants into paupers, as the only means of relief; and of power to contend with any rational prospect of success, against the more unbounded ambition of Buonaparté; for we *would not* like him give the law upon land if *we could*, we are satisfied with the dominion of the sea. But, for this recommendation, Sir, you were publicly rebuked by Mr. Sheridan, I believe, upon the hustings in Covent Garden; and by others of the regiment you were daubed with the titles of Jacobin and Leveller, because, to preserve the independence of your country you would strip such annuitants of their annuities, violate public faith, and ruin public credit; that is, the credit of "the Regiment." O! Mr. Cobbett! you are a bad one; I had almost said a stupid dunce; for what is the independence of your country, when the credit of the Regiment is gone? Cannot you see in a moment, if you are willing, how far the credit of the regiment has diminished the number of our paupers within the last century, or how much greater that number would be if they had no credit? But, to be serious, Sir, and to distinguish the voice of reason from the snarlings of those "who owe their "greatness to their country's ruin," when the annuitants whom you would strip of their annuities, come to compare the small portion of the necessaries of life which the interest of their stock now gives them to what they formerly received from it, can they mistake that *true* faith *is not* kept with them? And when they look forward to the time when the attempt to maintain faith with them, by means of the Sinking Fund, will leave them but 1-7th of that small quantity to subsist upon,—will saddle them with their proportion of 490 millions of annual taxes, and reduce them, with a moral certainty, to beggars and paupers, will they not, of their own accord, withdraw their credit from the regiment? will not their fate induce the survivors in the general wreck to withhold their credit also? and will not both join in cursing the day when they became the dupes of their own credulity, and the victims of public credit? On the principles of cause and effect, this will certainly be the result, if the productions of our agriculture and manufactures be not increased to seven times their present weight and measure, or, at least, it will be so in the proportion in which the increase of capital thrown into trade by the operations of the Sinking Fund, exceeds the increase of these productions. To increase them, however, in any sensible degree, is a thing which I believe cannot possibly be done, by any other means than that of employing the stockholders, and other idlers, as to productive industry, in farming and manufacturing for their own use. To this they must come sooner or later, or, go to the workhouse and none to feed or clothe them. Why then call us jacobins and levellers because we would take from them every thing that would not reduce them to paupers, and so save their country and themselves? Why then thus hypocritically attend to their present prejudices at the expenses of their future happiness? Why should not they, as speculators suffer the consequences of their own speculations? If they had not lent their money, neither they or us would have suffered as we now do and must yet do. I strongly suspect, as before stated, that the Sinking Fund is supported more from obstinacy or design, than from ignorance and conviction. In support of this suspicion, I shall quote Lord Henry Petty, as reported in the Times newspaper, of the 30th of January, when he brought forward his new and captivating plan of finance: on the folly and inefficiency of which, your correspondent A. G. has left no possible doubt. "When the Sinking Fund was established," says his lordship, "Mr. Pitt *foresaw* the *in*-"*conveniency* and *mischief* which might "arise from the extinguishing at once a "very large portion of the National Debt. "If the two Sinking Funds," (the original million a year, and the one per cent. upon all the loans) "had been allowed to ac-"cumulate to their full extent this mis-"chief would have followed, that at one "and the same time an immense capital "would have been *destroyed*. In fact, by "returning all their capital to the holders of "stock, capital itself *would cease to be of* "*value*, and the nation might be nearly "ruined by that which at first sight might "appear a great advantage," (to whom? not surely to men capable of legislating for a people) "however paradoxical it might "sound" (to whom? I again ask) "he con-"sidered that the sudden extinction of the "National Debt would be an evil almost "amounting to a national bankruptcy." I say, to worse than a bankruptcy, which would not reduce any of the annuitants to paupers. "It was not merely that the stockholders "would find themselves materially distress-"ed by having all their capital returned to "them at once, at a time when no employ-

" ment could be found for such an immense " capital, but all those who were engaged in " trade would feel the mischief of it. Their " fair and reasonable prospects *would be de-* " *stroyed*, and all their advantages of no avail, " if such an immense capital were all at " once thrown upon the market, and they " were exposed to such a competition, that " would not allow them either to buy their " goods at the same price they formerly did, " nor to enjoy the same profits; for the " stockholders, in such case, not knowing " how to employ their capital to better ad- " vantage, would be *most formidable* com- " petitors. It was for these reasons that " he stated that the sudden extinction of " the National Debt would not only be a " most serious injury to the stockholders, but " to the trading part of the community, and " that it would produce the greatest and most " extensive mischief and calamity." Now merchants, traders, and stockholders, I put it to your most serious consideration, whether this be not a complete confirmation of all my arguments, and of all that ever was said or can be said, as to the destructive and calamitous effects of the sinking fund; except as to their notions of the counteracting influence of time. Pitt, the canonized institutor of this fund, and Lord Henry Petty, the trumpeter of his fame, conceive or seem to conceive, that to discharge the debt a little at a time will enable the stockholders to employ their capital with more advantage to themselves, and less disadvantage to the trading part of the community, than they could do if the debt was discharged at once. But, how is *little at a time*, or time itself to enable them to do this? Why neglect to shew how? They know, you see, upon the principle of numbers and quantity, as well as we can tell them, that if the discharge of the debt, *now that traders and capital is not wanted*, will add but one stockholder in a year to the number of our traders, and but one pound in a year to our capital in trade; the competition would be as formidable, and the destruction of the capital as complete, when all the stockholders and their capital came into trade, as if they were sent there at an hour's notice. And, therefore, they know, with a similar degree of certainty, that the only influence which time has in this case is, 1. that of making the progress of our destruction imperceptible to our senses; and, 2. that of dividing our opinions as to the cause of our suffering, that we may be ruled with greater ease, if this be not the policy of their not having followed up their insinuations, as to the advantages of time, with the proof, what other reason can they have? A very good one, they have no proof to give. But be this as it may, Sir, it is not now so likely, as it was seven years ago, when I first took up the subject, for the purpose already stated, that our labour to produce a belief in the inefficiency and mischief of the Sinking Fund, will be lost. The question of its merits, even in parliament, now turns upon a single point, *the counteracting influence of time.* And therefore if our answer to that question cannot be refuted; if we are not refuted when we answer, that to increase tradesmen and capital however slow, is to ruin both where neither is wanted; and that our country, *is that where, in the present state of her trade and capital*, such answer is infallibly sure to strike conviction, and create that union which is indispensibly necessary to ave the inevitable mischiefs and calamities of the funding and unfunding systems:—Mischiefs and calamities, I am most positively convinced of, before which all that policy could suffer the unrelenting hand of a conqueror to inflict sink into nothing.—— C. S.——*August* 4, 1807.

LOTTERIES.

Sir,——Permit me to trouble you with a few remarks upon the new lottery plan—I thought there was no good to be expected from it; and though it might be called the most beneficial scheme ever offered to the public, I was pretty well convinced, when I saw the word supplementary added to the old plan. It was more calculated to deceive the public, than really to hold out to it, in these its sapient speculations, any more solid advantages, than have hitherto been experienced, by this cozening mode of collecting a few pounds. I was, therefore, sorry to see this innovation upon the old plan; but reflecting, at the same time, that I had no power to alter it, I lamented that there was a necessity of having recourse to such measures, and so it passed. But to-day I saw, at the bottom of one of those precious morsels, a lottery advertisement, the following N. B.—" Not two blanks to a prize, and the prizes paid on demand." Hollo, says I, how I have been mistaken in my judgment of the new supplementary plan; only two blanks to a prize! why, in the old plan, there were generally nearly four blanks to a

prize. I must have a little bit of a look at you, Mr Supple, and see if you are really what you are represented to be. I believe I conned over it twenty times in about as many minutes, before I could understand it at all: however, I think at last I have discovered who will be most benefited by this new plan; and, by your permission, I will state to you the most prominent features of this paragon of virtue; by which it will appear, instead of its being a better plan for the public, it is infinitely worse, in point of the chance of getting the money back again laid out in this speculation; and in addition to this, it has a very considerable increase of deception, which I apprehend cannot be considered as a recommendation; and particularly so, it being known to be the offspring of those into whose hands the reins of government have been entrusted. First, then, instead of only two blanks to a prize, there are nearly thirteen blanks to a prize in the principal lottery; that is, 14,000 tickets will give 1085 prizes (out of the 20,000 tickets, which is the whole of what the lottery is composed of); and the aggregate of these 1085 prizes will amount to £137,000, and the remaining 6000 tickets will give 6000 prizes at £10 each. But then the holders of these 6000 £10 tickets are not to receive the money; but instead of which, are to have a chance in another, or supplementary lottery, when they may get £20,000. But it is four to one they do not get more than £15, and nearly four to one they get any thing by their speculation. The deception here held out to the public is of two kinds; the one, that £257,000 is to be divided as prizes, when in fact it is only £200,000; and the other, that there are only two blanks to a prize, when in fact, adding the chance in the principal and supplementary lottery together, there are even then nearly eight blanks to one against every purchaser of a ticket or share; and with this chance of eight to one against him, he can only get £15. If he has an eye to any of the capital prizes, he will find his chance of obtaining any of them from 15,000 to 19,000 to 1 against him—Now, to say nothing about the pernicious effects of lotteries, what is the sum that government will receive by this new plan? Why only about £140,000 at most, and out of which, no doubt, much must be deducted before it can be called net revenue. But the lottery-office keepers, and who are between twenty and thirty, will divide amongst them the sum of nearly £80,000; and this is the sum the country pays them for collecting so small a part of its revenue as £140,000, and which is at the rate of 57 per cent.—In God's name, if we are to have lotteries, let them be conducted in a way more beneficial to the public. There can be no doubt but the business now done by the lottery-office keepers might be done by government, and quite as well, to answer every purpose, for about 5 per cent.; and which, in each lottery, would be a saving of at least £50,000. I shall be very glad, then, to hear some of the advocates of the present mode of conducting lotteries, say, why the country is to pay between twenty and thirty individuals a salary, to each of them, at least of £10,000 per annum, when the business might be done for one twelfth part of that sum? Who, let me ask, would not be struck with the impropriety of government's granting such patents as were granted in the reign of Elizabeth; and however different such patents and the present lottery plans may appear on first view, they will be found, upon investigation, to be very similar in their effects. These patents gave to particular persons the exclusive sale of some of the most necessary articles of life, and as such they may appear to have acted with more security in their operation than a lottery tax, the money expended in which is considered quite voluntary. But I think the old adage may with much propriety be applied here—"that an open enemy is not so much to be dreaded, as a false and insidious friend."——I am, Sir, your obedient servant, X. T.

London, Sept. 7, 1807.

P. S. Since writing the above, I have seen a paragraph in the Morning Chronicle, in which it is stated, that T. Bish will, if the contractors persist in holding out such fallacious advertisements to the public, make them, by his explanations, all Quakers. We may, perhaps, then see, when honest men fall out, rogues will get their own.

PUBLIC PAPER.

COMMERCE WITH RUSSIA.—*Memorial presented by the English Merchants in Russia to the Marquis Douglas, concerning the renewing of the Treaty of Commerce.*

The most essential point to be established in concluding a Treaty of Commerce in respect to the subjects of Britain who reside in Russia, is that of being permitted to be owners of all kinds of property, and to negociate in wholesale in many respects upon the same footing as native subjects or foreign merchants, of whatever class and of whatever nation they may be, without being inscribed in any mercantile Guild, subject to pay either a tax upon their capital or any other duties prescribed by law.—This

privilege (without which all others would be of little worth) has been granted to them by the Government of Russia since the first commercial undertakings between the two nations; and it is certain it never was of so great importance to them as since the publication of the Manifest, dated 1st January of the present year, by which several important articles are established as general, fundamental, and immutable laws, hitherto unknown in the commerce of this empire, which have not, and do not tend to any other object but that of diminishing the advantages, at the same time that they increase the heavy charges of all classes of foreign merchants, not exempted as we would wish to be, from their prejudicial consequences, by a particular Treaty of Commerce.—According to the 8th, 3d section, all foreigners whatever are totally excluded from enjoying the prerogatives of the Russian Guilds, as they were before permitted, without becoming subjects of this empire for ever.— In consequence of the 9th, it is permitted, as a special favour, to all foreigners who are now inscribed in different Guilds, and who having already paid the tax, have obtained the right to expect the enjoyment of the prerogatives of their Guilds until the expiration of the present year, to determine within the space of six months either to become subjects for ever, or to choose between the two new classes of the foreign Guest, or of the travelling Merchant, as they are described in the 10th and following articles. By the 10th, all foreigners, without exception, have no other alternative but of incorporating themselves in one of the two classes, or entirely abandoning trade within the space of six months. In being inscribed in either of these classes, it is only permitted that they shall negociate in wholesale with the natives of this empire, not among themselves, nor even to make any kind of negociation in retail. The Guest is subjected to pay a tax of $1\frac{1}{4}$ per cent. on a declared capital which must exceed 50,000 roubles,and the travelling Merchant must pay the same per cent. on a capital also above 25,000 roubles, on which footing the latter cannot remain beyond one year.—According to the 11th, the foreign Guest will become liable to town dues, and other taxes and accessary charges, which are to be levied in an unlimited manner, at the pleasure of the Magistracy, or of the Town Hall, to which Assembly, however, he has no vote; besides that, it is ordained, upon quitting the country, to pay the tax upon his actual capital for three years in advance.— By an ancient law, he is even besides that exposed to a deduction of one-tenth of the amount of his actual property upon retiring from the Burgership, or in case of death. —By the 12th, each partner of a commercial house, composed of two or more partners, is obliged individually to pay the tax upon the capital, and all commercial houses alike are subjected to the same regulations relating to partnerships in trade, which are established for the native Russians, without the exception of producing them before the Magistracy or the Town-Hall and by such means to the Minister of Commerce; in one word, to publish to the world the conditions of their partnership, the extent of their capital, and other minutiæ, the disclosure of which is not required in any other country; and which ought rather to cause disgust than encourage the plan of partnerships in trade, which they would wish to favour by this edict.—The privileges of a travelling merchant are in like manner limited by the tenor of the 13th, as well in their extent as in their duration, that the least advantage cannot exist for a permanent establishment. —By the 14th, the term of negociation in wholesale ought to be defined into a new sense, and establish from it two different kinds; one in respect to foreign merchants, and the other for the interior trade. This short citation of the principal regulations, without many comments, clearly demonstrate how the tenor of this manifest will prove prejudicial to the interests of all strangers in general; and, in some degree, the conditions required of a Guest, or of a travelling Merchant, and still more the rank of a perpetual subject, become incompatible with the duties, the principles, and the sentiments of a Merchant of our country in particular.—If an augmentation of the Revenue of the Crown was only intended, it could easily be effected by some other stated tax, and we should find nothing to object to an imposition of certain customs on the extent of our commerce, or rather, in preference, on the amount of our duties; for, sooner than we will submit ourselves, whether to the arbitrary taxes of a Magistracy, where we have no vote or influence whatever, whether to the declaration of our funds, and of the particular conditions of our commercial partnerships, before a tribunal, of which the members are our rivals, whether to the payment of a heavy tax every time we shall wish to revisit our native country; or, in fine, to all the other fetters, not less burthensome, which are the consequences of such a subjection, if even privileges and advantages infinitely more flattering were attached to it, the greater part of our countrymen, for such a length of time residents

in Russia, and many other creditable and respected foreigners, we have every reason to suppose, would believe themselves, through the influence of this law, compelled to quit the empire.—After that, it is scarcely probable that other individuals from our nation would dare to undertake to replace us in those commercial situations, which we have believed right to abandon.—Commerce could then only be continued either by a direct correspondence of the commercial houses established in Great Britain, with the native Merchants of Russia, as yet imperfectly initiated in the affairs of trade of other countries, or with strangers, who would submit to constraints to which we absolutely cannot conform.—There would appear an open presumption, and perhaps be even superfluous, if we should pretend to discuss the advantages or disadvantages which will accrue to Russia from this new system. We have no right to combat the opinion, which we believe to have remarked in this Manifest, as well in regard to their own subjects as in relation to their commercial resources; if we should speak what is our own opinion, it is to be feared that we should be accused of egotism, of jealousy, and perhaps of pride; otherwise we would not hesitate to affirm, that this very opinion, which has been insinuated by the authors of this innovation, is by no means well founded, as it aims at removing a body of Merchants, who, as well by their education as by their long experience, have proved themselves to be best capable to direct a trade, established and carried on upon the principles of wisdom and honour; instead of accelerating the progress of commerce of this empire in general, it would at one blow destroy the salutary effects which the enlightened and well-conducted politics of their predecessors have produced. For if we consult the annals relating to their trade with foreigners, the registers of duties and of merchandize exported and imported, the cultivators of products in their raw state, the artists and traders of every description (great and small), who are found dispersed in their extensive empire, it will be without doubt confessed that this country is not a little indebted for its present improvement to the English nation; or can it even with justice pretend that it is already in a situation to excel those who have been their very support in every commercial point of view, in capital and in foreign credit. It is as if they would wish us to believe (if we may be allowed to make use of a metaphor just in itself and not too forced), that henceforth their wretched axe alone could bring to perfection all the beautiful works of the cabinet-maker, for the accomplishment of which, until this period, they have been supplied with tools introduced by foreigners. Facts so impressive ought to render other arguments useless.—We flatter ourselves, that it is yet not too late for your Excellency to confute this system, or at least to object to those consequences arising from decrees, which, in every point of view, will not be less prejudicial with respect to the whole body of Merchants, than to that of our nation in particular. Your Excellency, undoubtedly, will deign to employ all possible zeal, and make use of every effort to this effect.—The present situation of affairs requires the most speedy and decisive measures, and with submission, it appears to us that the talents of your Excellency can scarcely be directed towards an object more important in its consequences, both commercial and political, to Russia and to Great Britain. (Signed by the Members of the British Factory.) *St. Petersburgh*, (dated) *March* 1807.

The original Memorial was written in the English Language, which his Excelleney caused to be translated to the French. The above is a translation from the latter.

FOREIGN OFFICIAL PAPER.

ANNUAL EXPOSITION OF THE STATE OF THE FRENCH EMPIRE.——At eleven in the morning of the 24th of August, his Majesty the Emperor Napoleon, being seated on his throne, received a solemn deputation from the Legislative Body, and another from the Tribunate. Upon this occasion, M. Fontanes, the president of the former assembly, delivered the following interesting address:

SIRE,——The Legislative Body lays at the foot of your Majesty's throne, the address of thanks, to which they have unanimously agreed. It is offered, not so much to the conqueror, as to the pacificator of Europe. Let others, if possible, justly describe the wonders of your last campaign—the rapid succession of triumphs, by which a monarchy was overthrown—and the still more heroic firmness, which patiently knew how to wait for, and prepare the day of victory, in the midst of so many impediments thrown in the way by fortresses, troops, and the inclemencies of the season. Let them direct our attention to those soldiers, who, equally indefatigable as their chief, lay encamped with him six months together, in the bleak fields of the North, braving alike the frozen winters of Poland, and the glowing summers of Syria. Finally, let them picture that state of continually threatened repose, which was at length to terminate in a dreadful explo-

sion—and, above all, that decisive moment, previously announced by yourself, when these frozen climes, having become somewhat more temperate, favoured your genius with the opportunity of completing the victory, and compelling the vanquished to accept terms of peace. It is not our province to blazon forth such performances and military achievements. Whatever claim they may have to our admiration, they have been purchased with tears, and they have inspired the conqueror himself with feelings of commiseration, which gave him an additional title to our affection and esteem.—We direct our views to much more cheering scenes. We would rather follow you to the banks of that river, where divested of the pomp of war, two boats received two Emperors, and with them the future destiny of the world. A memorable day! A day to be celebrated in all succeeding ages! The two armies drawn up exactly opposite to each other, along the respective banks of the Niemen, contemplated with astonishment so interesting a meeting, after so many destructive engagements; and, in one instant, 400,000 soldiers composed of Italians and Dutchmen, Scythians, Sarmatians, Germans and Frenchmen, laid aside their arms, and the two greatest sovereigns on earth, met each other on a raft in the middle of the river, to adjust personally the affairs of their states, and mutually stretched forth their hands as a pledge of their reconcilement. Alexander and Napoleon are united—the war is at an end—and a hundred millions of people again taste the blessings of peace.—The interests of futurity itself are possibly connected with this celebrated interview, which was so worthy of the youthful successor of the Czars. From one single individual he may have been furnished with more examples, and received more information respecting the art of government, than formerly could have been obtained by Peter the Great, when, with the view of self-instruction, he undertook a long journey, and visited all the courts of his royal contemporaries. The treaty of Tilsit has left behind no further pretence for a continental war. On that great day it was, that kingdoms and nations, the old and the new powers, took their fixed stations—it was then that every thing became solid and secure.—The nation, Sire, may now flatter itself with the hope, that it will not henceforth be, for so long a period, deprived of your presence, and that its internal welfare and prosperity will continue to increase under your paternal superintendance. The nation has well merited your care and affection. At every epoch of your government, and particularly the present, they have been solely occupied in emulating the greatness of your exploits, by the extent of their sacrifices and their devotion. We have henceforth the assurance, that we shall gratify your majesty, by intermingling the homage which we owe you with the praises of that great and good people, as you have so justly denominated them. —The hearts of all of us are warmed by the proofs you have given us of your attachment to the French. The benevolent expressions which you uttered from the throne, have already filled the poorest cottages with joy. In talking of you it will one day be said—and it is the finest trait in so wonderful a history—it will be said, 'He occupied himself with attending to the condition of the poor, who dispensed the fate of so many kings;' and that, on the termination of a long war, you diminished the public burthens, whilst your triumphant hand so gloriously dealt forth crowns to those officers of the first rank who fought by your side.—— It is our first duty to bring to your recollection that magnanimous promise which will not have been made in vain. Whilst you are creating around you new dignities, and those intermediate ranks, which are the appendages of monarchy, and serve to augment its lustre, it shall be our care to draw closer our ties with that people, of whose sentiments we are the interpreters. In this we shall find a species of greatness, which, though not so dazzling, is not less honourable.——We swear, Sire, that we will never belie the sentiments which have been stamped with your approbation. We swear it in the presence of that throne which is established on the basis of so many trophies, and which governs all Europe.—And how is it possible that you should not receive with a favourable ear expressions which are as remote from slavery as from anarchy—you, Sire, who have availed yourself of the right of conquest only to restore peace to the vanquished, and who have reinstated the inhabitants of the Banks of the Vistula in all their former privileges? The legislative body will zealously, and to the utmost of its power, promote the grand plans of improvement which occupy your mind—Under the eye of your genius we shall speedily see our civil and political institutions perfected. You will affix to them that stamp of greatness and stability which distinguish all the other creations of your superior understanding: and, to crown your glory, genuine freedom, which cannot exist but under a pure monarchy, will become more and more secure, under the government of an omnipotent prince.

The Address of M. Fabre, President of the Tribunate, was to the following effect:

Sire,——Whilst your Majesty was conducting your armies to new triumphs, and overthrowing, creating, and erecting thrones, your faithful subjects, ever animated with confidence in the genius and fortune of your Majesty, calmly applied themselves to their respective occupations, accelerating the periods of the departure of their children for the armies, and feeling no other regret than that of not being able to share in their dangers and glory, and breathing no other wish than for the preservation and happy return of your sacred person.—Grand and astonishing spectacle, which has displayed to the view of the world all your energies, and all our affections!—You have, Sire, seen that extatic affection beam forth, in those unanimous rejoicings, those heartfelt ejaculations, which neither fear nor flattery can ever dissemble. Ah! what monarch ever had a greater, a better, claim upon the feelings of his people? In the midst of camps, nay, even in the field of battle, the minutest particulars of internal government were present to the mind of the conqueror of Eylau and Friedland. Already, though the maritime war still continues, owing to the blind obstinacy of our eternal enemy, the prosperous state of our finances has permitted your Majesty to diminish considerably the public burthens; and at the same time, to give that relief to the landholders, and to bestow those embellishments on our cities, which no other sovereign, before you, has been able to accomplish. Thus shall the promise of the most beloved of your predecessors, Henry IV. be performed, nay, exceeded; the wish of his heart is enhanced by the grand conceptions of your mind. Your Majesty has created imperial titles, both with a view of decorating the throne, and of for ever destroying all hopes of the restoration of a feudal government. Those institutions, connected with that of the legion of honour, so fruitful in beneficial results, will complete a grand system of encouragements and rewards. So much prosperity and so much glory, so many acts of beneficence, renewed in perpetual succession, are duly and strongly felt; but how can that gratitude which they call forth, ever express itself in adequate language? May you, Sire, in the long career which you have to run, establish, on a firm foundation, the institutions which your creative genius has conceived, for promoting the glory and happiness of your states! May they, on the other hand, daily give your Majesty new and splendid proofs of their confidence, attachment, and devotion!

Both these Deputations were most graciously received by the Emperor, and were conducted with the same solemnities with which they were introduced.

The Minister of the Interior, M. Cretet, having been introduced to the Legislative Body, accompanied by the Counsellors of State, Jaubert and Bigot Promeneau, presented a REPORT ON THE STATE OF THE EMPIRE; the principal passages of which are as follows:

Fifteen months have elapsed since the deputies separated, in order to return to their homes. At that period, the Emperor seemed to have approximated the moment when he was to taste the fruits of his glorious labours.—The German princes were, for the most part, in alliance with France; Prussia was in the number of her friends; the differences with Russia were terminated by a treaty of peace; our tranquillity seemed to be equally secured abroad as at home, and numerous deputations flocked from all quarters of the empire, to bring the Emperor the homage of their admiration and gratitude; the heroes of the army had already arrived, to attend the festivals to be given at Paris, in celebration of our victories; the Emperor directed all his attention to the internal affairs of government, when England, accustomed to seek her own safety in the misfortunes of other nations, induced Russia to depart from her pacific inclinations, so lately confirmed by a treaty, and precipitated Prussia into a war, without reason or object, contrary to the judgment of the ministers, and very possibly against the wishes of the king. An army of 180,000 men, eager for the combat, commanded by the king and his veteran generals, and formed in the school of the Great Frederick, was almost annihilated in the first battle, and the remains were melted down in the ranks of the Russian army. France, calm and tranquil, while the tempest burst over the distant regions where it was formed, saw the career of internal improvement, commenced during a period of peace, maintained and advanced. The conscription-law was carried into effect with more zeal than ever; the taxes were punctually paid; the National Guards gave proof of their ardour; the public spirit retained all its purity; the Government was, in the highest degree, satisfied with the conduct of the Mayors.—The gifts and donations to the various charitable foundations, in the year 1806, formed a capital of 2,300,000 francs, and have been further augmented, by a fresh act of bounty on the part of his Majesty, with a sum of 15,600,000 francs. The sufferers by the maritime war have been in-

demnified by his Majesty.—The Government has begun to direct its attention to the means of repressing mendicity. The Abbies of Contevrault and the Ursulines of Montpelier, are already prepared for the reception of the mendicants belonging to the Departments; and that of Villars Cotteret, which is nearly completed, will be sufficient for those of the capital and the environs.—Thirteen thousand four hundred miles of road have been repaired and improved. These labours have been bestowed on 6127 highways, leading from the capital to all the frontiers of the empire.—The navigation of eight principal rivers or streams, among these the Loire and Charent, have been improved.—Four bridges have been finished during the last recess, or will shortly be finished. The building of ten others is actively going forward; among which are those of Bouanne and Tours.—Ten canals, almost all of them commenced under the present Government, are worked at without intermission. Of that of the Ourq, about three-fourths are completed. The two cuts from that of Saint Quintin, which unite the Seine with the Scheld, and Paris with Holland, are completed, and will be navigable in eighteen months.—The sea-ports are also restored. Antwerp recovers its ancient celebrity, and will form the centre of the marine service. For the first time, that part of the Scheldt has seen upon its stream vessels of 74 and 80 guns. Fourteen ships are on the stocks at Antwerp.—Flushing, having been enlarged, is now capable of containing a squadron. At Dunkirk, the Western Jetty has been rebuilt. At Cherburgh, the two moles have been raised; and the battery, Napoleon, placed in the sea, defends the harbour, both against the waves and the foe. At Rochefort, a scientific apparatus has been erected, by which vessels of all rates may be taken in or out at any time of tide.—Agriculture has also constantly occupied the attention of Government. The national sheep-folds preserve their breeds in the highest purity. The shepherds will be instructed in the art of managing their flocks. The restoration of the breed of horses is in forwardness. Twelve depots of stallions are already formed, consisting of 900 of the finest animals. The breeding of black cattle is placed under regulation in a great number of the departments, and the veterinary schools are in a flourishing state.—A commercial code is digesting, with the view of combining what is good in the regulations of the old ordonnances with existing customs, of protecting credit, and preventing the disgrace of bankruptcy.—Our cotton-spinning establishments have, within the last 20 months, recovered from their inactivity; and the decree of the 22d of February having reanimated them, they now furnish our manufactories with those materials which we procured from abroad.—It is the desire of the Emperor, that the capital, become the metropolis of the world, should correspond with its destination. The bridge of Austerlitz is completed; that of Jena is begun. In the Place de Vendome will be erected the Column of the Grand Army; in the Place des Victoires, the Monument of Dessaix; and the Statue of Haultpolt will decorate the Place des Vosges. The Palace of the Legislative Body will be adorned with a collonade; opposite will be erected the Temple of Victory; and in the mid-way will be reared the Sovereign's Palace; so that the Throne will occupy a central position between Justice and Glory. The works at Saint Genevieve are going forward; those of St. Dennis are nearly finished.—The tomb of Dessaix is erected on the Alps, between France and Italy, where it demonstrates to the two countries the honour conferred by their common deliverer on his comrade and friend, who died amidst those victories which determined the fate of both nations.—The French School is occupied in representing, in marble or on canvas, the most renowned events of the present reign.—The war has retarded the institution of a General School: but the Emperor will still accomplish the project.—Several colleges have been established in the course of the year, to the number of 35. They contain 18,000 scholars. Of these, 3700 owe their education, in whole or in part, to the national bounty. Twelve schools of jurisprudence are opened, and 12,000 students occupy them at present.—The labours of the meridian circle of Barcelona and of Baleares are renewed, and will be continued this winter. The Observatory of the Pantheon is restored, and that of Turin is again devoted to Astronomy.—The Emperor desires that the sciences may have a part in the amazing improvements which have been communicated, like an electric shock, to every thing great and interesting. He desires that the French language, now become that of Europe, shall continue to support that noble privilege, by its beauty, its purity, and the interest of its productions. He desires that the public sentiments shall encourage the developement of talents, and preserve the latter against calumny and malignity; and that in future there shall be no sects among the learned; that there shall be no longer

any political parties in the state; that learning and morality, and good taste, shall be in unison, and that these only shall form the basis of their prosperity and improvement. He wishes that criticism should maintain a respect for decency, in order to be useful; and that men who are called to the sublime office of enlightening and improving the community, should depise idle flattery.—The Government cannot but be contented with the members of the church in general. The same purity of morals, toleration, and disinterestedness and zeal, distinguish all ranks, and evince the devotion of all.—The Jews, who now bear the name of Frenchmen, in consequence of the graciousdispositions of his Majesty in their favour, have become worthy of that name.—Such is the exposition of the improvements, which have been brought to perfection in the interior, since the last sitting. Several other branches of the Government have been advanced, and are now in a situation the most advantageous. France, among all the States of Europe, is the only one without paper-money. Its commerce, interrupted by unavoidable circumstances, preserves the hope of renovation in the seed that remains. The arms of France have been carried to the farthest extremities of Europe; its influence extended beyond the Bosphorus, and into the centre of the Continent of Asia: the most complete order prevails in our interior. England alone remaining overwhelmed with the burden of the war, and the hatred of nations: these are the effects of one year, and the encouraging prospect of that which is to follow."

M. Fontanes answered: "That the statement which was laid before the Legislative Body was made up from the exploits of a prince who was a lover of peace; that if the Emperor, 500 miles from his capital, had effected so much in favour of his people, and the glory of the arts, what would he not have performed in the bosom of peace, and in the midst of his capital? The improvements that have been introduced into the various branches of the internal Government, prove that the irresistible power which overturns empires and establishes thrones, is still far inferior to that wisdom which has established morality upon the immoveable basis of the law."

The Legislative Body ordered the Exposition of the State of the Empire to be printed, together with the speech of the President, and that six copies of them be distributed to each Member.

DOMESTIC OFFICIAL PAPERS.

BUENOS AYRES.——*From the London Gazette Extraordinary, dated Downing street, September* 12, 1807.

Lieut. Col. Bourke, deputy quarter-master-general to his majesty's troops serving in South America, arrived this morning at the office of the viscount Castlereagh, one of his majesty's principal secretaries of state, from the Riode la Plata, with a dispatch from Lieut. Gen. Whitelocke, addressed to the Right Hon. W. Windham, of which the following is a copy:

Buenos Ayres, July 10, 1807.

SIR,——I have the honour to acquaint you, for the information of his Majesty, that upon being joined at Monte Video on the 15th of June, by the corps under Brig. Gen. Craufurd, not one moment was lost by Rear Admiral Murray and myself in making every necessary arrangement for the attack of Buenos Ayres. After many delays, occasioned by foul winds, a landing was effected, without opposition, on the 28th of the same month, at the Enfinada de Barragon, a small bay about 30 miles to the eastward of the town. The corps employed on this expedition were 3 brigades of light artillery, under Capt. Fraser; the 5th, 38th, and 87th regiments of foot, under Brig. Gen. Sir S. Achmuty; the 17th lt. drag. 36th and 88th regiments, under Brig. Gen. the Hon. Wm. Lumley; 8 companies of the 95th regt., and 9 light infantry companies, under Brig. Gen. Craufurd; 4 troops of the 6th drag. guards, the 9th light drag. 40th and 45th regiments of foot, under Col. the Hon. T. Mahon; all the dragoons being dismounted, except 4 troops of the 17th, under Lieut. Col. Lloyd. After some fatiguing marches through a country much intersected by swamps and deep muddy rivulets, the army reached Reduction, a village about 9 miles distant from the bridge over the Rio Chuelo; on the opposite bank of which the enemy had constructed batteries, and established a formidable line of defence. I resolved, therefore, to turn this position, by marching in two columns from my left, and crossing the river higher up, where it was represented fordable, to unite my force in the suburbs of Buenos Ayres. I sent directions at the same time to Col. Mahon, who was bringing up the greater part of the artillery under the protection of the 17th lt. drag. and 40th regt. to wait for further orders at Reduction.——Maj. Gen. Leveson Gower having the command of the right column, crossed the river at a pass called the Passo Chico, and falling in with a corps of the enemy's, gallantly attacked and defeat-

ed it, for the particulars of which action, I beg to refer you to the annexed Report. Owing to the ignorance of my guide, it was not until the next day that I joined with the main body of the army, when I formed my line by placing Brig. Gen. Sir S. Achmuty's brigade upon the left, extending it towards the Convent of the Recoleta, from which it was distant 2 miles. The 36th and 38th regiments being on its right; Brig. Gen. Craufurd's brigade occupying the central and principal avenues of the town, being distant about 3 miles from the great square and fort; and the 6th drag. guards, 9th light drag. and 45th regt. being upon his right, and extending towards the Residencia. The town was thus nearly invested, and this disposition of the army, and the circumstances of the town and suburbs being divided into squares of 140 yards each side, together with the knowledge that the enemy meant to occupy the flat roofs of the houses, gave rise to the following plan of attack.—Brig. Gen. Sir S. Achmuty was directed to detach the 38th regt. to possess itself of the Plaza de Toros, and the adjacent strong ground, and there take post: the 87th, 5th, 36th, and 38th regiments were each divided into wings; and each wing ordered to penetrate into the street directly in its front. The light battalion divided into wings, and each followed by a wing of the 95th regt. and a 3 pounder, was ordered to proceed down the two streets on the right of the central one, and the 45th regt. down the two adjoining; and after clearing the streets of the enemy, this latter regt. was to take post at the Residencia. Two 6 pounders were ordered along the central street, covered by the carabineers and 3 troops of the 9th lt. drag., the remainder of which was posted as a reserve in the centre. Each division was ordered to proceed along the street directly in its front, till it arrived at the last square of houses next the River Plata; of which it was to possess itself, forming on the flat roofs, and there wait for further orders. The 95th regt. was to occupy two of the most commanding situations, from which it could annoy the fenemy. Two corporals with tools were ordered to march at the head of each column for the purpose of breaking open the doors; the whole were unloaded, and no firing was to be permitted until the columns had reached their final points and formed; a cannonade in the central streets was the signal for the whole to come forward. -In conformity to this arrangement, at ½ past 6 o'clock of the morning of the 5th inst. the 38th regt. moving towards its left, and the 87th straight to its front, approached the strong post of the Retiro and Plaza de Toros; and after a most vigorous and spirited attack, in which these regiments suffered much from grape shot and musketry, their gallant commander, Brig. Gen. Sir S. Achmuty, possessed himself of the post, taking 32 pieces of cannon, an immense quantity of ammunition, and 600 prisoners. The 5th regt. meeting with but little opposition, proceeded to the river, and took possession of the church and convent of St. Catalina. The 36th and 88th regiments, under Brig. Gen. Lumley, moving in the appointed order, were soon opposed by a heavy and continued fire of musketry from the tops and windows of the houses; the doors of which were barricadoed in so strong a manner, as to render them almost impossible to force. The streets were intersected by deep ditches, in the inside of which were planted cannon, pouring showers of grape on the advancing columns. In defiance, however, of this opposition, the 36th regt. headed by the gallant general, reached its final destination; but the 88th being nearer to the fort and principal defences of the enemy, were so weakened by his fire as to be totally overpowered and taken. The flank of the 36th being thus exposed, this regiment, together with the 5th, retired upon Sir S. Auchmuty's post at the Plaza de Toros; not, however, before Lieut. Col. Burne, and the grenadier company of the 36th regt. had an opportunity of distinguishing themselves, by charging about 800 of the enemy, and taking and spiking two guns. The 2 6 pounders moving up the central streets meeting with a very superior fire, the 4 troops of the carabineers, led on by Lieut. Col. Kingston, advanced to take the battery opposed to them, but this gallant officer being unfortunately wounded, as well as Capt. Burrell, next in command, and the fire both from the battery and houses proving very destructive, they retreated to a short distance, but continued to occupy a position in front of the enemy's principal defences, and considerably in advance of that which they had taken in the morning.—The left division of Brig. Gen. Craufurd's brigade, under Lieut. Col. Pack passed on nearly to the river, and turning to the left, approached the Great Square with the intention of possessing itself of the Jesuits' College, a situation which commanded the enemy's principal line of defence. But from the very destructive nature of his fire, this was found impracticable, and after sustaining a heavy loss, one part of the division throwing itself into a house which was afterwards not found tenable, was shortly obliged to surrender, whilst the remaining part, after enduring a dreadful fire with the greatest intrepidity, Lieut. Col. Pack its

commander being wounded, retired upon the right division commanded by Brig Gen. Craufurd himself. This division having passed quite through to the River Plata, turned also to the left to approach the Great Square and Fort from the North East Bastion, of which it was distant about 400 yards, when Brig. Gen. Craufurd, leaving the fate of his left division, thought it most advisable to take possession of the Convent of St. Domingo, near which he then was, intending to proceed onwards to the Franciscan Church which lay still nearer the fort, if the attack or success of any other of our columns should free him in some measure from the host of enemies which surrounded him. The 45th regt. being further from the enemy's centre, had gained the Residencia without much opposition, and Lieut. Col. Guard having it in possession of his battalion companies, moved down with the grenadier company towards the centre of the town, and joined Brig. Gen Craufurd.—The enemy, who now surrounded the Convent on all sides, attempting to take a 3 pounder which lay in the street, the lieut. col. with his company, and a few light infantry under Major Trotter, charged them with great spirit. In an instant, the greater part of his company and Major Trotter (an officer of great merit) were killed, but the gun was saved. The brig. gen. was now obliged to confine himself to the defence of the Convent, from which the rifle men kept up a well directed fire upon such of the enemy as approached the post; but the quantity of round shot, grape, and musketry, to which they were exposed, at last obliged them to quit the top of the building, and the enemy, to the number of 6000, bringing up cannon to force the wooden gates which fronted the fort, the brig. gen. having no communication with any other columns, and judging from the cessation of firing that those next him had not been successful, surrendered at 4 o'clock in the afternoon.—The result of this day's action had left me in possession of the Plaza de Toros, a strong post on the enemy's right, and the Residencia, another strong post on his left, whilst I occupied an advanced position opposite his centre; but these advantages had cost about 2,500 men in killed, wounded, and prisoners. The nature of the fire, to which the troops were exposed, was violent in the extreme. Grape shot at the corners of all the streets, musketry, handgrenades, bricks, and stones from the tops of all the houses, every householder with his negroes defended his dwelling, each of which was in itself a fortress, and it is not perhaps, too much to say, that the whole male population of Buenos Ayres was employed in its defence.—This was the situation of the Army on the morning of the 6th instant, when Gen. Liniers addressed a letter to me, offering to give up all his prisoners taken in the late affair, together with the 71st regiment, and others taken with Brig. Gen. Beresford, if I desisted from any further attack on the town, and withdrew his majesty's forces from the River Plata, intimating at the same time, from the exasperated state of the populace, he could not answer for the safety of the prisoners, if I persisted in offensive measures. Influenced by this consideration, (which I knew from better authority to be founded in fact,) and reflecting of how little advantage would be the possession of a country, the inhabitants of which were so absolutely hostile, I resolved to forego the advantages which the bravery of the troops had obtained, and acceded to the annexed Treaty, which I trust will meet the approbation of his majesty.—I have nothing further to add, except to mention, in terms of the highest praise, the conduct of rear Admiral Murray, whose cordial co-operation has never been wanting whenever the army could be benefited by his exertions. Capt. Rowley, of the Royal Navy, commanding the seamen on shore, Capt. Baynton, of his majesty's ship Africa, who superintended the disembarkation, and Capt. Thompson, of the Fly, who had the direction of the gun-boats, and had previously rendered me much service by reconnoitring the river, are all entitled to my best thanks.—As his character already stands so high, it is almost unnecessary to state that from my second in command, Major-Gen. Leveson Gower, I have experienced every zealous and useful assistance; my thanks are likewise due to Brigadier-General Sir S. Auchmuty and Lumley, and to col. Mahon, and brig-gen. Crauford commanding brigades. I cannot sufficiently bring to notice the uncommon exertions of Capt. Fraser, commanding the royal artillery, the fertility of whose mind, zeal and animation, in all cases left difficulties behind. Capt. Squires of the Royal Engineers is also entitled to my best thanks; nor should I omit the gallant conduct of major Nicholls of the 45th reg. who on the morning of the 6th instant, being pressed by the enemy near the Residencia, charged them with great spirit, and took two howitzers and many prisoners. Lieut-col. Bradford, Deputy Adjutant General, has likewise a great claim to my approbation as a gallant and promising officer.—The officers of my personal staff, lieut. col. Torrens, Military Secretary, Captains Brawn, Foster, Douglas, and Whitting-

ham, Aides du Camp, must also be mentioned by me in terms of just regard; the knowledge which the latter possesses of the Spanish Language has been eminently useful to me.—This dispatch will be delivered to you by lieut. col. Bourke, Deputy Quarter-Master-General, who has afforded me that assistance which might be looked for from an officer of his military talents and attachment to the service; to whom I beg to refer you for any further particulars respecting the military operations in this part of the world.——I have the honour to be, &c. J. WHITELOCKE, Lieut. Gen.

Return of the Killed, Wounded, and missing of the Troops under the Command of Lieut. Gen. Whitelocke, between the 28th of June, the day of the landing at Ensinada, to the 4th of July, 1807, inclusive.

Light batt. 1 lieut. wounded.—87th reg. 5 rank and file, killed.—88th reg. 8 rank and file, killed; 1 lieut. 8 rank and file, wounded.—95th reg. 1 Serjeant, 1 rank and file, killed; 1 Captain, 1 lieut. 1 ensign, 2 serjeants, 10 rank and file, wounded.—Total 1 serjeant, 14 rank and file, killed; 1 Captain, 3 Lieutenants, 1 Ensign, 2 Serjeants, 18 rank and file wounded.

Officers of the Light Battalion severely wounded.—87th reg. lieut. Crowe.—88th reg. lieut. Thompson.—95th reg. Capt. Elder; Lieutenants Noble and Coane.—(Signed) THOMAS BRADFORD, Dep Adj. Gen.

Return of killed, wounded, and missing, on the attack of the city of Buenos Ayres, the 5th of July, 1807.—Royal navy, 1 lieut. wounded; 2 seamen missing.—Royal Horse Artillery. 3 rank and file killed; 1 serj. 1 drummer, 6 rank and file wounded; 3 rank and file missing.—Royal Foot Artillery. 1 lieut., 2 rank and file wounded.—Gunner Drivers. 3 rank and file killed.—6th Dragoon Guards. 1 captain, 1 serj. 13 rank and file killed; 1 lieut. col., 1 serj., 19 rank and file wounded; 1 quarter-master, 2 rank and file missing.—9th Light Dragoons. 1 staff, 3 rank and file killed; 1 lieut., 2 serj., 1 drummer, 13 rank and file wounded; 1 rank and file missing.—Light Batt. 1 major, 1 lieut. 3 serjeants, 24 rank and file killed; 2 lieut. colonels, 2 captains, 5 lieutenants, 4 serjeants, 1 drummer, 57 rank and file wounded; 62 rank and file missing.—5th Regt. 1 serj. 1 drummer, 12 rank and file killed; 1 major, 1 serj., 2 drummers, 43 rank and file wounded; 2 serjeants, 1 drummer, 21 rank and file missing.—36th Regt. 2 captains, 25 rank and file killed; 3 captains, 4 lieutenants, 3 serjeants, 2 drummers, 39 rank and file wounded; 2 staff, 11 rank and file missing.—38th Regt. 1 lieut., 8 rank and file killed; 1 ensign, 1 volunteer, 2 serjeants, 1 drummer, 38 rank and file wounded; 1 rank and file missing.—40th Regt. 2 rank and file killed; 1 rank and file wounded.—45th Regt. 14 rank and file killed; 1 capt., 1 lieut., 4 serjeants, 41 rank and file wounded; 1 rank and file missing.—47th Regt. 1 rank and file killed; 1 lieut., 2 rank and file wounded; 1 rank and file missing.—87th Regt. 2 captains, 1 lieut. 1 staff, 2 serjeants, 1 drummer, 51 rank and file killed; 1 major, 4 captains 5 lieutenants, 1 staff, 8 serjeants, 1 drummer, 108 rank and file wounded; 14 rank and file missing.—88th Regt. 1 lieut., 1 ensign, 1 staff, 8 serjeants, 70 rank and file killed; 1 major, 4 captains, 6 lieutenants, 1 staff, 7 serjeants, 98 rank and file wounded; 2 drummers, 38 rank and file missing.—95th Regt. 1 capt., 2 serjeants, 2 drummers, 36 rank and file killed; 2 majors, 1 captain, 5 lieutenants, 8 serjeants, 2 drummers, 73 rank and file wounded; 2 serjeants, 2 drummers, 39 rank and file missing.—Total. 1 major, 6 captains, 4 lieutenants, 1 ensign, 3 staff, 17 serjeants, 4 drummers, 265 rank and file killed; 3 lieutenant colonels, 5 majors, 15 captains, 30 lieutenants, 1 ensign, 2 staff, 1 volunteer, 41 serjeants, 11 drummers, 540 rank and file wounded; 2 staff, 1 quarter-master, 4 serjeants, 5 drummers, 196 rank and file missing.

Names of officers killed. Light Batt. Major Trotter, of the 87th; Lieut. Hamilton, of ditto.—6th Dragoon Guards. Capt. Burrell.—9th Light Dragoons. Veterinary Surgeon Landers.—36th Regt. Captains Williamson and Johnson.—38th Regt. Lieut. Fallon.—87th Regt. Captains Confidine and Johnson; Lieut. Barry; Quarter-Master Buchanan.—88th Regt. Lieut. Hall; Ensign M'Gregor; Assistant Surgeon Ferguson.—95th Regt. Captain Jenkinson.

Names of officers wounded.—Lieut. Squarey, of the royal navy, slightly. Lieut. Maconochie, Royal Artillery, ditto. Lieut. Col. Kingston, 6th Dragoon Guards, severely. Lieut. Cowdall, 9th L. Dragoons, slightly.—Light Batt. Lieut Col. Pack, 71st Regt., slightly. Lieut. Col. Cadogan, 18th Regt., ditto. Lieut. Smith, 40th Regt. severely. Capt. Greenwell, 45th Regt. ditto. Lieut. Cox, 87th Regiment, slightly. Lieut. Nickle, 88th Regt. ditto. Lieut. Bury, of ditto, slightly. Capt. Brookman, 71st Regt. dangerously. Lieut. Adamson, of ditto, severely.

5th Regiment.—Hon. Major King, slightly.

36th Regt.—Capt. Swain, severely. Capt. Vernon, slightly. Capt. Wingfield, severely. Lieut. Cotton, ditto. Lieut. Challoner, slightly. Lieut. White, severely. Lieut. Whittel, ditto.

38th Regt.—Ensign Wiltshire, severely. Volunteer Henry de Waal, ditto.

45th Regt.—Capt. Payne, severely. Lieut. Moore, ditto.

47th Regt.—Lieut. Rutledge, severely.

87th Regt.—Major Miller, severely. Cap. Rose, dangerously. Capt. Blake, slightly. Capt. Des Barres, ditto. Capt. Gordon, severely. Lieut. Love, slightly. Lieut. Hill, ditto. Lieut. O'Brien, severely. Lieut. Budd, slightly. Lieut. Fitzgerald. Assistant-Surgeon Buxton, dangerously.

88th Regt.—Major Iremonger, slightly. Capt. M'Pherson, ditto. Capt. Chisholm, ditto. Capt. Dunn, ditto. Capt. Thomson, ditto. Lieut. Adair, severely. Lieut. Graydon, ditto. Lieut. Whittle, ditto. Lieut. Buller, ditto. Lieut. Mackie, slightly. Lieut. Gregg, ditto. Adjutant Robertson, ditto.

75th. Regt.—Major M'Leod, slightly. Major Travers, ditto. Capt. O'Hare, severely. Lieut. Cardoux, ditto. Lieut. M'Lead, ditto. Lieut. Scott, ditto. Lieut. Turner, ditto. Lieut. M'Cullock, slightly.

Names of officers missing.—36th Regt. Surgeon Boyce. Assistant-Surgeon Read.

RECAPITULATION. *Killed.*—1 Major, 6 Captains, 4 Lieutenants, 1 Ensign, 3 Staff, 18 Serjeants, 4 Drummers, 279 Rank and File—316. *Wounded.*—3 Lieutenant-Colonels, 5 Majors, 16 Captains, 33 Lieutenants, 2 Ensigns, 2 Staff, 1 Volunteer, 43 Serjeants, 11 Drummers, 558 Rank and File—674. *Missing.*—2 Staff, 1 Quarter-Master, 4 Serjeants, 5 Drummers, 196 Rank and File—208.—Total—316 killed, 674 wounded, 208 missing—1198.—The Light Company of the 71st Regiment, attached to the Light Battalion, suffered severely, but no correct Return of their Loss has been received. The Prisoners have all been exchanged.

A DEFINITIVE TREATY *between the Generals in Chief of His Britannic Majesty and of His Catholic Majesty, as per the following Aritcles.*

I. There shall be from this time a cessation of hostilities on both sides of the river Plata.—II. The troops of his Britannic Majesty shall retain, for the period of two months, the fortress and place of Monte Video, and as a neutral country there shall be considered a line drawn from San Carlos on the west, to Pando on the east, and there shall not be on any part of that line hostilities committed on any side, the neutrality being understood only that the individuals of both nations may live freely under their respective laws, the Spanish subjects being judged by theirs, as the English by those of their nation —III. There shall be on both sides a mutual restitution of prisoners, including not only those which have been taken since the arrival of the troops under Lieut. Gen. Whitelocke, but also all those his Britannic Majesty's subjects captured in South America since the commencement of the war.—IV. That for the promptest dispatch of the vessels and troops of his Britannic Majesty, there shall be no impediment thrown in the way of the supplies of provisions which may be requested for Monte Video.—V. A period of ten days, from this time, is given, for the re-embarkation of his Britannic Majesty's troops to pass to the north side of the river La Plata, with the arms which may actually be in their power, stores, and equipage, at the most convenient points which may be selected, and during this time provisions may be sold to them.—VI. That at the time of the delivery of the place and fortress of Monte Video, which shall take place at the end of the two months fixed in the second article, the delivery will be made in the terms it was found, and with the artillery it had when it was taken.—VII. Three officers of rank shall be delivered for and until the fulfilment of the above articles by both parties, being well understood that his Britannic Majesty's officers who have been on their parole, cannot serve against South America until their arrival in Europe.—Done at the Fort of Buenos Ayres, the 7th day of July, 1807, signing two of one tenor. —— JOHN WHITELOCKE, Lieut. Gen. Commanding. GEORGE MURRAY, Rear Adm. Commanding. SANTIAGO LINIERS. CESAR BALBIANI. BERNARDO VELASCOS.

Canal of Miserala, July 3, 1807.

SIR,——I have the honour to report to you, for the information of the Lieut. Gen. Whitelocke, that the advanced corps under my command, consisting of 3 companies of the 95th light battalion, 36th and 88th regt., with 2 three, and 2 six pounders, advanced from the position I had taken up in front of the village of the Reduction, and after making a considerable detour from the badness of the roads, I crossed the Chuelo at the Chico Pass, from thence I continued my route, though very strongly inclosed, and difficult ground, till the head of the column arrived at the junction of two roads, about 500 yards from the Canal of Miserala. At the same moment that we discovered the enemy, they commenced a heavy though af-

ter the first round not well directed fire of shot and shells, my artillery having been left in the rear, under the protection of 3 companies of Brig Gen. Lumley's brigade, owing to the inability of the horses to bring it up at the same rate at which the infantry marched, I directed an immediate attack to be made on their left flank with the bayonet, which was executed by Brig. Gen. Craufurd in the most perfect manner with his brigade, and he was so well seconded by the gallantry of Lieut. Col. Pack, and Major Travers, the officers and men of the 95th, and light battalion, that in 5 minutes the enemy's force, though strongly posted behind hedges, and embankments, gave way, leaving about 60 killed and 70 prisoners, with all their artillery consisting of 9 guns, 1 howitzer, 3 tumbrils with limbers complete.—I beg to state that the conduct of every officer and soldier engaged was admirable; and that I am also under great obligations to Brig. Gen. Lumley for his exertions to take a share in the action, but which alone the very exhausted state of his regiments, from the severity of the march, prevented. Immediately after I formed, I found that he had taken a good position on the right of the light brigade to support it in case of re-attack.——I am happy to add our loss has been but trifling, not exceeding 14 rank and file killed, 5 officers, and 25 rank and file wounded. The exact returns I have not been able to obtain.——I have the honour to be, &c.—(Signed) J. Leveson Gower, Major General.—Lieut. Col. Torrens, Military Secretary.

[*To be continued.*]

Capitulation of Copenhagen and Surrender of the Danish Fleet.—*From the London Gazette Extraordinary, dated Downing-street, Sept. 16, 1807.*

Dispatches of which the following are copies, have been received by Viscount Castlereagh, one of his majesty's principal secretaries of state, from Admiral Gambier and Lieut. Gen. the Right Hon. Lord Cathcart, K. T. the commanders of his majesty's naval and military forces in the Baltic Sea.

Prince of Wales, Copenhagen Roads, Sept. 7, 1807.

My Lord,——My letter, of the 5th inst. will inform your lordship of the progress of the operations of his majesty's forces against Copenhagen to that period. I have now the honour and satisfaction to add, that previous to the hour intended for opening our batteries on that night, an officer, with a flag of truce, came out from the town, with proposals for an armistice to settle terms of capitulation. This was accordingly done, after a correspondence* between the Danish General and Lord Cathcart and myself, of which I transmit a copy; and your lordship will be informed of the stipulations agreed upon by the inclosed copy of the Articles. †—Our army has accordingly been put in possession of the citadel and the arsenal, and the most vigorous exertions are commenced for equipping and sending to England the Danish navy. I have the honour to be, &c.—J. Gambier.

Citadel of Copenhagen, Sept. 8, 1807.

My Lord,——It has fallen to my lot to have the great satisfaction of forwarding to your lordship, the ratified Capitulation of the Town and Citadel of Copenhagen, including the surrender of the Danish fleet and arsenal in this port, which are placed at his Majesty's disposal.——The object of securing this fleet having been attained, every other provision, of a tendency to wound the feelings or irritate the nation, has been avoided; and although the bombardment and cannonade have made considerable havoc and destruction in the town, not one shot was fired into it till after it was summoned, with the offer of the most advantageous terms; nor a single shot after the first indication of a disposition to capitulate; on the contrary, the firing, which lasted three nights, from his Majesty's batteries, was considerably abated on the 2d, and was only renewed on the 3d, to its full vigour, on supposing, from the quantity of shells thrown from the place, that there was a determination to hold out.—On the evening of the 5th Sept. a letter was sent by the Danish General, to propose an armistice of 24 hours, for preparing an agreement on which articles of capitulation might be founded. The armistice was declined, as tending to unnecessary delay, and the works were continued; but the firing was countermanded, and Lieut. Col. Murray, was sent to explain that no proposal of capitulation could be listened to, unless accompanied by the surrender of the fleet.——This basis having been admitted by a subsequent letter, on the 6th, Major Gen. Sir A. Wellesley, whom I had sent for, for this purpose, from his command in the country, where he had distinguished himself in a manner so honourable to himself and so advantageous to the public, was appointed, with Sir Home Popham and Lieut. Col. Murray, to prepare and sign articles of capitulation; and those officers having insisted on proceeding immediately to business, the capitulation was drawn up in the night between the 6th and 7th.——The ratification was exchanged in the course of

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* Given in Lord Cathcart's dispatch.

† The Articles are in Lord Cathcart's dispatch.

the morning, and at 4 in the afternoon of the same day, Lieut. Gen. Burrard proceeded to take possession.——The British grenadiers present, with detachments from all the other corps of cavalry and infantry, under the command of Col. Cameron, of the 79th regiment, with two brigades of artillery, marched into the citadel, while Major Gen. Spencer having embarked his brigade at the Kalk Brandiere, landed in the Dock Yard, and took possession of each of the line of battle ships, and of all the arsenal; the Danish guards withdrawing when those of his Majesty were ready to replace them, and proper officers attending to deliver stores as far as inventories could be made up.—The town being in a state of the greatest ferment and disorder, I most willingly acceded to the request that our troops should not be quartered in it, and that neither officers or soldiers should enter it for some days; and, having the command of possession from the citadel, whenever it might be necessary to use it, I had no objection to leaving the other gates in the hands of the troops of his Danish Majesty, together with the police of the place.—We have consented to the re-establishment of the post; but all arrivals and departures are to be at and from the citadel.—— This work is in good condition, very strong, and well stored with ordnance and ammunition. The amount of the garrison of the town, is not easily ascertained. The regular troops were not numerous; but the number of batteries which fired at the same time, together with the floating defences, prove that there must have been a very great number of Militia and Burghers, with other irregular forces; and their ordnance was well served. Considering the advanced position in which His Majesty's troops have been placed for the last fortnight, our loss (highly as I prize the value of every Officer or soldier who has fallen or been wounded) has been comparatively small. The zeal, spirit, and perseverance of every rank in the army, have been truly characteristic of the British nation; and the King's German Legion are entitled to a full share in this commendation. All the Generals, and indeed each Officer, has rendered himself conspicuous in proportion to his command, and the opportunities which have occurred, and opportunities have occurred to all. The Staff have done themselves the greatest credit, and been of all the service that could be desired in their several departments. Col. D'Arcy, the Chief Engineer, and every Engineer under him, have given the most unequivocal proofs of science and indefatigable industry; the works under their direction have gone on with fresh parties without ceasing. Gen. Bloomfield, and the Officers and corps of Royal Artillery, have done great honour to themselves, and to that branch of His Majesty's service, of which their fire upon the gun boats, and the rapidity and success of the mortar practice, afford sufficient proofs; nor is the distribution of battering ordnance and of so much ammunition at so many points, in this extensive line, in so short a period, a small proof of the method and resources of that Corps. Lieut. Col. Smith, with the 82d Regiment under his command, held the post at the Windmill on the left, which for the greater part of the time, was the most exposed to the gun-boats and sorties of the enemy; and the unremitting attentions of that Officer claim particular notice. By the naval blockade, the force opposed to us has been limited to the resources of this and of the adjacent islands, separated only by narrow ferries, and almost every wish of assistance has been anticipated, and every requisition of boats, guns, and stores, has been most amply and effectually provided for with the greatest dispatch and the most perfect cordiality; and every possible attention has been paid, and every accommodation given, by every Officer, in that service, from Admiral Gambier downward. A battalion of seamen and marines, with three divisions of carpenters, were landed on the 5th, under Captain Watson of His Majesty's ship Inflexible; and had the effort been made, which would have been resorted to in a few days, if the place had not capitulated, their services in the passage of the ditch would have been distinguished. I send this dispatch by Lieut. Cathcart, who has become for some time my first Aid-du Camp, who has seen every thing that has occurred here and at Stralsund, and will be able to give any further details that may be required. I have the honour to be, &c. (Signed) CATHCART.

List of killed, wounded, and missing.—Killed. 4 officers, 1 serjeant, 1 drummer, 36 rank and file, and 3 horses. Wounded. 6 officers, 1 serjeant, 138 rank and file, and 25 horses. Missing. 1 serjeant, 4 drummers and 19 rank and file.—Names of officers killed. Lieut. Lyons, of the Royal Artillery. Ensign Robt. Dixon, of the 82d Foot. Lieut. Rudoff, of the 1st regt. Light Dragoons, King's German Legion. Ensign Jennings, of the 23d foot, or Royal Welch Fuzileers.——Names of officers wounded. Capt. Hastings, of the 82d foot. Lieut. Suter of ditto. Capt. During, 1st battalion King's German Legion. Lieut. Gen. Sir D. Baird, in the shoulder and hand, slightly. Ensign Bilson.

ARTICLES OF CAPITULATION for the town and citadel of Copenhagen, agreed upon between Major-General the right hon. Sir A. Wellesley, K. B., Sir Home Popham, Knight of Malta and Captain of the Fleet, and Lieut. Col. George Murray, Deputy Quarter-Master-General of the British Forces, being thereto duly authorised by James Gambier, Esq. Admiral of the Blue, and Commander in Chief of his Britannic Majesty's ships and vessels in the Baltic sea, and by Lieut. Gen. the right hon. Lord Cathcart, Knight of the Thistle, Commander in Chief of his Britannic Majesty's Forces in Zealand and the North of the Continent of Europe, on the one part, and by Major-General Walterstorff, Knight of the Order of Dannebrog, Chamberlain to the King, and Col. of the North Zealand Regiment of Infantry, Rear-Admiral Lurken, and I. H. Kerchoff, Aid-du-Camp to his Danish Majesty, being duly authorised by his Excellency Major-General Peyman, Knight of the Order of Dannebrog, and Commander in Chief of His Danish Majesty's Forces in the Island of Zealand on the other part.——Art. I. When the capitulation shall have been signed and ratified, the troops of his Britannic Majesty are to be put in possession of the citadel. Art. II. A guard of his Britannic Majesty's troops shall likewise be placed in the dock-yards. Art. III. The ships and vessels of war of every description, with all the naval stores belonging to his Danish Majesty, shall be delivered into the charge of such persons as shall be appointed by the commander in chief of his Britannic Majesty's forces, and they are to be put in immediate possession of the dock-yards, and all the buildings and storehouses belonging thereto. Art. IV. The store-ships and transports in the service of his Britanic Majesty are to be allowed, if necesary, to come into the harbour for the purpose of embarking such stores and troops as they have brought into this island. Art. V. As soon as the ships shall have been removed from the dock-yard, or within six weeks from the date of this capitulation, or sooner, if possible, the troops of his Britannic Majesty shall deliver up the citadel to the troops of his Danish Majesty, in the state in which it shall be found when they occupy it. His Britannic Majesty's troops shall likewise, within the before-mentioned time, or sooner, if possible, be embarked from the island of Zealand. Art. VI. From the date of this capitulation, hostilities shall cease throughout the island of Zealand. Art. VII. No person whatsoever shall be molested, and all property, public or private, with the exception of the ships and vessels of war, and the naval stores before mentioned, belonging to his Danish Majesty, shall be respected; and all civil and military officers in the service of his Danish Majesty shall continue in the full exercise of their authority throughout the Island of Zealand; and every thing shall be done which can tend to produce union and harmony between the two nations. Art. VIII. All prisoners taken on both sides shall be unconditionally restored, and those officers who are prisoners on parole, shall be released from its effect. Art. IX. Any English property that may have been sequestered in consequence of the existing hostilities, shall be restored to the owners.——This capitulation shall be ratified by the respective commanders in chief, and the ratsfications shall be exchanged before twelve o'clock at noon this day.—Done at Copenhagen, this 7th day of Sept. 1807. (Signed) ARTHUR WELLESLEY, HOME POPHAM, GEORGE MURRAY. Ratifié par moi (signée) PEYMAUN.

Admiralty-office, September 16, 1807.—Captain Collier, of His Majesty's ship the Surveillante, arrived at this Office this morning with a dispatch from Admiral Gambier, Commander in Chief of His Majesty's ships and vessels in the Baltic, addressed to the Honourable William Wellesley Pole, Secretary of the Admiralty, dated Prince of Wales, in Copenhagen-Road, 7th Sept., 1807, of which the following is a copy:

Sir—The communications which I have already had the honour to transmit to you, will have made the Lords Commissioners of the Admiralty acquainted with the proceedings of the fleet under my command, down to the 2d instant; I have now to add, that the mortar batteries which had been erected by the army in the several positions they had taken round Copenhagen, together with the bomb vessels, which were placed in convenient situations, began the bombardment in the morning of that day, with such power and effect, that in a short time the town was set on fire, and by the repeated discharges of our artillery, was kept in flames in different places, till the evening of the 5th, when a considerable part of it being consumed, and the inflagration having arrived at a great height, threatening the speedy distruction of the whole city, the General commanding the garrison sent out a flag of truce desiring an armistice, to afford time to treat for a capitulation. After some correspondence had passed between the Danish General and Lord Cathcart and myself, certain articles were agreed upon, of which I have the honour to transmit you a copy. From these their Lordships will perceive, that all the Danish ships and vessels of war,

(of which I inclose a list), with the stores in the arsenal, were to be delivered up to such persons as should be appointed to receive them on the part of his Majesty. I accordingly appointed Sir Home Popham for this purpose, and having made the necessary arrangements for equipping them with the utmost dispatch, I have committed the execution of this service to Vice-Admiral Stanhope, in whose ability and exertions I can place the fullest confidence.—I am happy on this occasion to express the warm sense I entertain of the cordial co-operation of the army, by whose exertions, with the favourable concurrence of circumstances, under Divine Providence, ever since we left England, our ultimate success has been more immediately obtained. I must also convey to their Lordships, in terms of the highest approbation and praise, the conspicuous zeal and earnest indeavours of every officer and man under my command for the accomplishment of this service; and although the operations of the fleet have not been of a nature to afford me a general and brilliant occasion for adding fresh testimony to the numerous records of the bravery of British seamen and marines, yet the gallantry and energy displayed by the advanced squadron of sloops, bombs, gunbrigs, &c. which were employed under the command of Captain Puget to cover the operations of the left wing of the army from the Danish flotilla, ought not to be passed over in silence. I have beheld with admiration the steady courage and arduous exertion with which, on one occasion, in particular, they sustained, for more than four hours, a heavy and incessant cannonade with the Danish batteries, block ships, praams, and gunboats, in a situation, where, from the shoalness of the water, it was impossible to bring any of the large ships to their support.—I feel it my duty to make a particular acknowledgement of the aid I have derived from Sir Home Popham, Captain of the Fleet, whose prompt resources and complete knowledge of his profession, especially of that branch which is connected with the operations of an army, qualify him in a particular manner for the arduous and various duties with which he has been charged.—I herewith inclose an account of the killed and wounded.—I beg leave to refer their lordships to Captain Collier, whom I have charged with this dispatch, for any further particulars they may desire to know.—I have the honour to be &c. J. GAMBIER.

An account of killed and wounded on board the advanced squadron, on the 23d of August, 1807.—Cruizer Lieut. Woodford, killed: Fearless 2 seamen killed; lieut. Williams (slightly) 1 seaman, and 4 marines wounded: Indignant 1 seaman killed; 1 seaman wounded: Urgent 1 seaman and 1 marine wounded: Valiant's Launch 3 seamen wounded: Africaine's Boat 1 seaman wounded: total 4 killed, 13 wounded.

List of the killed and wounded by the explosion of the Charles armed transport, attached to the advanced squadron, on the 31st August, 1807.—Belonging to the Valiant 2 seamen, killed; lieut. N. Rowe, Mr. Philip Tomlinson, master's mate (since dead of his wounds,) and 12 seamen, wounded.—Belonging to the Transport—Mr. James Moyase, master, and 7 seamen, killed; 7 seamen, wounded. J. GAMBIER.

A list of the Danish ships and vessels delivered up by the Capitulation of Copenhagen to his Majesty's forces, Sept 7. 1807.

Christian the seventh, of 96 guns, built in 1803; Neptune, of 84 guns, built in 1789; Waldemaar, of 84 guns, built in 1798; Princess Sophia Frederica, of 74 guns, built in 1775; Justice, of 74 guns, built in 1777; Heir Apparent Frederick, of 74 guns, built in 1782; Crown Prince Frederick, of 74 guns, built in 1784; Fuen, of 74 guns, built in 1787; Oden, of 74 guns, built in 1788; Three Crowns, of 74 guns, built in 1789; Skiold, of 74 guns, built in 1792; Crown Princess Maria, of 74 guns, built in 1791; Danemark, of 74 guns, built in 1794; Norway, of 74 guns, built in 1800; Princess Caroline, of 74 guns, built in 1805; Detmarsken, of 64 guns, built in 1780; Conqueror, of 64 guns, built in 1785; Mars, of 64 guns, built in 1784.—Frigates, Pearl, of 44 guns, built in 1804; Housewife, of 44 guns, built in 1789; Liberty, of 44 guns, built in 1793; Iris, of 44 guns, built in 1795; Rota, of 44 guns, built in 1801; Venus, of 44 guns, built in 1805; Nyade, of 36 guns, built in 1796; Triton, of 28 guns built in 1790; Frederigstein, of 28 guns, built in 1800; Little Belt, of 24 guns, built in 1801; St. Thomas, of 22 guns, built in 1779; Fylla, of 24 guns, built in 1802; Elbe, of 20 guns, built in 1800; Eyderen, of 20 guns, built in 1802; Gluckstadt, of 20 guns, built in 1804.—Brigs, Sarpe, of 18 guns, built in 1791; Glommen, of 13 guns, built in 1791; Ned Elven, of 18 guns, built in 1792; Mercure, of 18 guns, built in 1806; Courier, of 14 guns, built in 1801; Flying Fish, built in 1789.—Gun-Boats, Eleven with 2 guns in the bow; fourteen with 1 gun in the bow and one in the stern.—J. GAMBIER.

Printed by Cox and Baylis, No. 75, Great Queen Street, and published by R. Bagshaw, Brydges Street, Covent Garden, where former Numbers may be had: sold also by J. Budd, Crown and Mitre, Pall Mall.